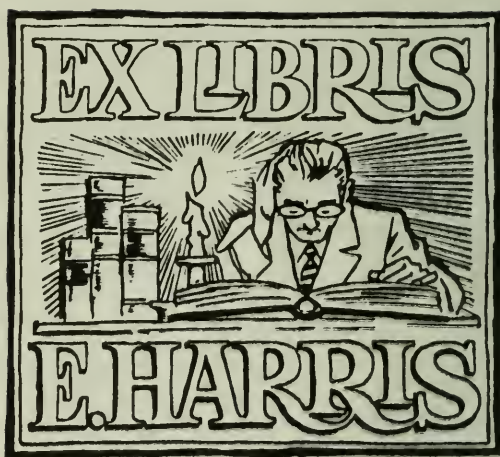


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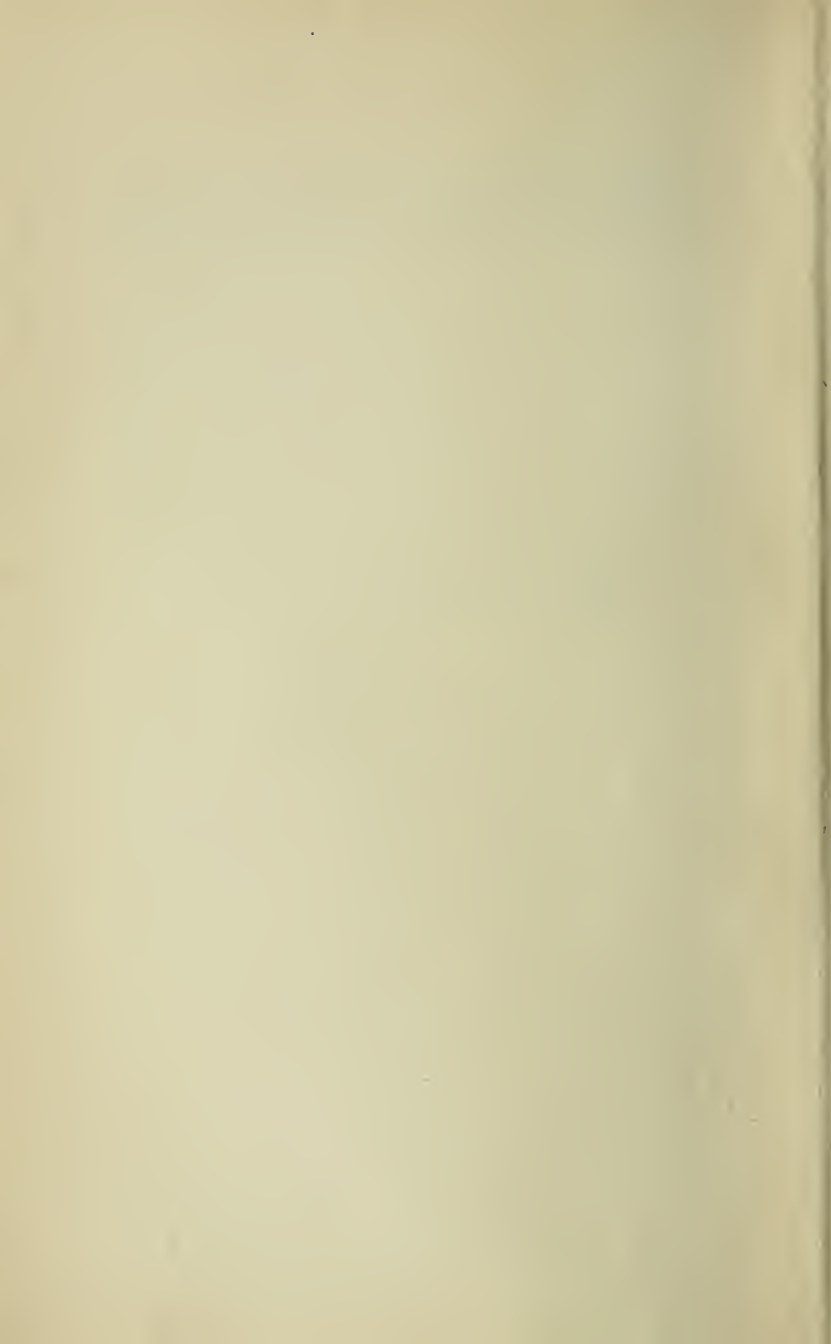


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1847

Broadway Translations

*"Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety."*



5 E D 1
Broadway Translations

SIR THOMAS MORE

THE UTOPIA

Translated by RALPH ROBINSON

1551

FRANCIS, LORD BACON

THE NEW ATLANTIS,

1622

2 and]
The whole edited, with an
Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by

H. GOITEIN

And 22 Illustrations by
S. LANGFORD JONES

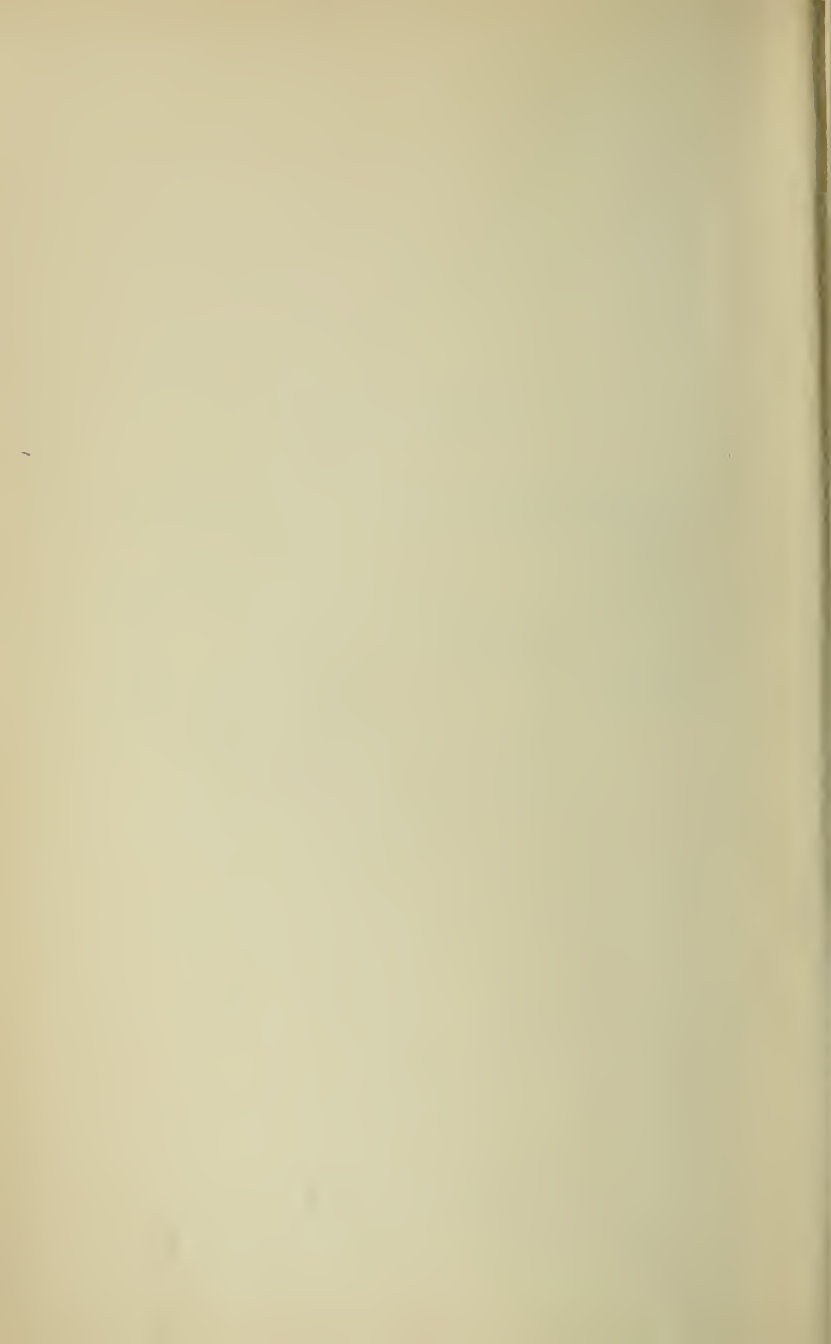
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SIR THOMAS MORE'S
UTOPIA



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY
S. LANGFORD JONES

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

The text of the following pages is, with some trifling exceptions, that of Ralph Robinson's translation (ed. 1) with the spelling modernized. Much use has naturally been made of Lupton's scholarly edition of the original Latin (ed. 2), and Burnet's translation has been continually referred to. Most lovers of Utopia have handled the "Kelmscott" Press edition at one time or another, and probably the Basle and other early editions as well. An excellent bibliography of the more important reprints and versions will be found in the "King's Classics" edition, while the fullest annotations are either those of Mr Churton Collins or of Lumby (in the "Pitt Press Series"). The notes here provided are mainly intended to enable the reader to understand Robinson's English where that differs materially from our modern idiom.

In the preparation of the Introduction recourse has been had to Roper's Life and Cresacre More (ed. Joseph Hunter, Pickering, 1828). Of modern biographies the first place is rightly accorded to Sidney Lee's Life in his "Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century." Two works of A. D. Innes, Ten Tudor Statesmen and England under the Tudors, have also been consulted. But the view of More and his work here presented is based almost entirely on the Utopia itself and the facts of More's life.

INTRODUCTION

IT is becoming the fashion to be interested in day-dreams. You may deplore the fact as a sign of the growing effeminacy of the times or welcome it as an indication that materialism is on the wane. It all depends on your temperament. The fact itself is incontestable. From being the perquisites of the idle and the curious they have become the stock-in-trade of the serious and the profound. The learned write books on the subject. The novelist with a sense of his calling would think his character-drawing incomplete without some reference to the day-dreams of his heroes and heroines, and an artistic pause in the story conveniently presents itself for the purpose. It is a fashion that has become widely popular. Sensational newspapers when they tire of the details of some squalid murder will turn to the day-dreams of the murderer and find in them the motives of the crime. And then, to enforce the simple moral, will insist on the necessity of encouraging none but the best kind of day-dream, and cast about for improvements in our social system which are likely to have the desired effect. In a word day-dreams have come into their own and are to be respected accordingly.

Perhaps we may be forgiven for treating the day-dreams of artists in a different vein. Artists

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are not as other men, and with them day-dreams are of the very stuff of life. What else are their fancies, how otherwise describe the workings of their imagination? To the plain man it is a dream-world in which they live, and that to be sure is their claim to recognition. Other men, it is true, have their dreams, but it is not the same with them. There are many who pine for a life of adventure, and, but for circumstance, would respond to the call of the untrodden snows, or yield to the fascination of the trackless desert. There are others who would be strutting across the stage with the plaudits of the crowd ringing in their ears. A choice few nurse a hopeless passion and dream of a love that could never be, no, not even for the poet at Vaucluse. Rainbow gold has many votaries, and there is fame, that last infirmity of noble minds. Most men, however, leave such dreams behind them, and with a shrug, or a jest, or perhaps a silent tear, turn to the serious business of life. But with artists that is never possible. Their dreams are too much for them. Their whole being is bound up with their dreams, and to deny them is to be unfaithful to their inmost selves. They come to them as from another world, a world whose shining splendour is but a faint reflection of a beauty and a truth that lie beyond. Who that has ever known a true artist has failed to realise it? That is the secret of the spell they weave and the ungrudging admiration their work invariably evokes. And that in large measure is the explanation of the unfettered freedom with which artists have always been indulged. *Pictoribus atque poetis!* There is nothing that an artist may not dare, and the more

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successful his daring the more truly an artist is he. Men who must needs put aside their own dreams find them again in the artist's fancies, only in a more exalted shape and with a finer truth. The Monna Lisa, it is said, attracts an almost ritual homage, and countless would-be explorers have stood silent upon a peak in Darien. Thus others beside the artist share in his work, and to that extent gain admittance to the world in which he lives. Indeed the conceptions of an artist are never peculiar to himself, and he is the last to claim that they belong to him alone. Personal experience may be the occasion of them, but it is other men's dreams mingling with, and taking shape as his own that he really expresses. If men find themselves again in his work, it is because he shows them as they might be, not merely as he would have them be. What has haunted their imagination is a foreshadowing of the dream he is destined to realise.

If an artist's conceptions were ever entirely his own, that would be the case here. For though this masterpiece of More's has been a classic for over four hundred years and has been sumptuously issued from some of the most renowned presses in Europe, yet, surprising as it may seem, no artist appears ever to have conceived the task of worthily illustrating it. Holbein, it is true, provided designs for the title page and borders of the Basle edition, but he was inspired by his friendship for the author rather than the spirit of the work. But it is just this extreme character of the exception that reinforces the conviction of the rule. It can be no mere idiosyncrasy of the artist to turn to More for inspiration just now ; and if it were its like would

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be found in countless others who are neither artists, poets, or dreamers at all. And no wonder. The dejection that has come over men seems but to intensify as time goes on. In those communities which escaped the worst ravages of the war, there were many who believed that its mischiefs might yet be remedied. If only men of goodwill would take heart, much that was precious in our civilisation might yet be saved. But as time has gone on their hopes have grown slender, and the conviction has been gradually settling upon them that there is some necessity or fate inherent in the war, against which it is hopeless to struggle for nothing can avail. Their finest effort has seemingly gone for nothing, and their disillusionment is more bitter, and indeed more tragic, than the blank despair that followed immediately on the war. No wonder then that men are turning in all directions in the hope of finding some relief, some refuge from a condition of things that has become almost too intolerable to be faced. But it is something more than a refuge that they need. No mere indulgence in easy phantasy, no shutting out of reality can in any way help, and it is a sure instinct which leads so many back to More. For the author of *Utopia*, for all his dwelling on the perfections of his ideal state, had the workaday world very much in view, and indeed it was that which absorbed his attention and spurred his imagination. If this fact has been obscured it is because the majority of men will always be beguiled by tales of the wonderful, and shut their eyes to the realities of which these are but the shadows. In the *Utopia* itself elaborate pains are taken to focus the attention on the concrete and matter-of-fact, and the

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supreme literary artifice of the whole has no other purpose. Let us see.

The book opens with the departure of More and his companions on their diplomatic mission to Flanders. The account of their journey is as circumstantial and, be it added, as prosaic as the Court Circular. We follow the negotiations at Bruges to a point at which they have to be adjourned, and More proceeds alone to Antwerp. We are there introduced, in the language of fashionable biography, to a leading citizen of the place, Peter Gyles, and incidentally to the beauties of the famous Cathedral with its spire (as the Emperor said) of Mechlin lace. By this time we are all attention and wondering what all the bustle has been about when a seafaring friend of Peter's comes on the scene full of travellers' tales. A rarely gifted traveller to be sure! He has seen men and cities and reflected on all he has seen; no gaping greenhorn he, but an acute observer of the fashions and foibles of men. He has been everywhere,—in the New World and the Old, and later, and above all, has lived in England, where he has spent months observing the conditions of English life; and more, he has discussed them with the Lord Chancellor himself. Thus we are back in England in the household of the Chancellor where More himself was brought up, and the discussion waxes fast and furious as to the causes of the social evils around and the lines along which they may best be remedied.

One would have thought that this would have been enough to give a clue to his commentators. But they have missed it, and often for good reason. Had the Utopia alone been in their hands all

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might have been well ; the right emphasis would have suggested itself readily enough. But More's life and legend was before them too—and the prejudices that must needs cling to a great historical figure who plays a part in difficult times. Partisanship notoriously blinds the eyes, and here partisanship is of the most acutely religious form that has ever manifested itself in English history. Moreover, More's personal character itself presents difficulties. It is seemingly full of contradictions. That these have been unduly exaggerated, that they have sometimes been invented is probably true enough, but certainly his character was such as lent itself to an appearance of inner discord and inconsistency. Such aspects have been readily seized upon, and the simple course of presenting More's whole personality as but a series of contradictions has proved too easy to be resisted. He was an ascetic, almost a monk, yet he dabbled in the world of affairs. He was an enthusiast for the new learning, yet the bitter foe of the reformation. He bartered his independence for royal favour, yet thwarted the King over a scruple of conscience. Above all, he preached toleration in the Utopia, but in practice he persecuted the reformers, "crushing them like ants beneath his feet." This is no place to attempt any elaborate explanation of these apparent contradictions ; that must be left to the patient biographer. Sufficient attention, however, must be paid to them in order to make a right understanding of the Utopia possible, for, certainly, few books mirror their authors' minds so faithfully or so completely as does this. But we aim no further than at a right understanding. We are not concerned with justi-

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fying either the man or his actions. We would understand the man to understand the book. That is all.

Now the key to many of the seeming contradictions in More's life is afforded by a passage in Roper's *Life*, which throws a flood of light on the groundwork of his character. "Whenever he passed through Westminster Hall," his son-in-law tells us "to his place in Chancery by the Court of the King's Bench, if his father, one of the judges there, had been sat ere he came, he would go into the same court and there reverently kneeling down in the sight of them all duly ask his father's blessing." . . . Allowing for the impressive solemnity of the manners of the time, there must have been, and Roper means us to feel it, something quite out of the ordinary in this filial reverence. That at readings at Lincoln's Inn he should, though Lord High Chancellor, give the precedence to his father in the argument seems, if a trifle unusual, only natural and proper. But to go on his knees in open court, in the sight of all—here was something distinctly unusual even for those days. Indeed, the part played by the Father in his inner life is an extraordinary one, from whatever point of view we look at it. Of his mother we know little and he tells us nothing, but that is explained by the fact that she died shortly after his birth. On his father he spends a wealth of descriptive epithets. He was "courteous, affable, innocent, gentle, merciful, just and uncorrupted". There was nothing apparently that ever made him utter or even think a word of reproach against his father. While at Oxford his father stinted him so badly in his allowance that it hardly went far enough to pay

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for the mending of his clothes—and of that meagre allowance detailed accounts had to be furnished—yet in after years he had nothing but praise for this parsimony of his father's, and traces to it much of his own happiness in life. His father's word was not merely law, it was inspired and inspiring law. At Oxford he had come under the influence of one of the great enthusiasms of the age, the passion for the New Learning. His imagination was fired, and it became one of the dominating influences of his life. But when his father, fearing it could only lead to unheard-of depravity and irreligion, took him away from Oxford at the very height of his enthusiasm and put him to the law, the lean dry learning of the law, there was not a trace of rebellion. In a very few years he was an accomplished lawyer. Even more significant are the events occurring some years later, the circumstances surrounding his marriage. He was much sought after by one Mr Colte "having three daughters of honest conversation and virtuous education". With the second of them he fell in love, or at any rate, in the quaint words of his biographer, "his mind most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fairest and best favoured," but the natural consequence was not what might be expected. Laban, it will be remembered, in the patriarchal story refused to allow Jacob to have his beloved Rachel, because the second daughter must not be allowed to marry before the first, so Lea the eldest daughter was given him in marriage instead. It was this strange view of things that determined our lover's conduct. "When he considered" (the narrative continues) "that it would be both great grief and some shame

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also to the eldest to see her younger sister in marriage preferred before her, he then of a certain pity framed his fancy towards her and soon after married her". And when he had married her he set up a patriarchal household of his own; when his daughters grew up and married, he had them and their husbands, together with their children and all the other members of his family, living with him under the same roof.

In his religion, likewise, the same tendencies reveal themselves; in his inmost religious life the rôle of the Father is perhaps the most conspicuous element. His common stock of religious ideas was that of the humanists whose enlightenment he shared. With them he attacked the ignorance of the priests and their worldly ambition, and often enough their sordid lives. He was impatient with their soulless handling of divine things, their perfunctory performance of the ceremonies of the church. But there was one aspect of the priesthood, one article of the Roman faith he could never for a moment question, implicit obedience to the Holy Father. "Against any encroachment on the Pope's authority" his most sympathetic biographer tells us, "every fibre of his mind and body was prepared to resist to the last. . . . As soon as the papal claim to supremacy in matters of religion was disputed, every pretension of the Papacy seemed to take in his mind the character of an indisputable law of nature." As indeed for his nature it was. Equally significant are the views on religion that find expression in the *Utopia*. The God of the Utopians has none but philosophic attributes. He is described in the language of the purest Stoic pantheism, yet with

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one personal attribute he must needs be endowed. "Him they call Father of all". Is it a wonder then that when any questioned the supremacy of the Holy Father he, "than whom nature never devised a gentler, sweeter or happier soul," inflicted on them brutal, physical torture of the most stupid and revolting kind? There is no contradiction here, nor did any ever manifest itself to his dying day. As he laid his head on the block his dying jest was to thrust forward his beard with the remark, "Pity that should be cut; it hath committed no treason". Would that it had been otherwise!

But the account cannot continue in the language of a fashionable psychology, richly allusive though it be. There were other conflicts in his nature, both real and apparent, to which such language is only indirectly applicable.

That More was of an essentially religious cast of mind is obvious; no matter from what angle we may view his life, no matter what aspect of his career we may touch upon, this characteristic leaps to the eye. So profoundly religious was he that he never realised himself that his religion was his personality. Throughout his life, to quote his modern biographer once more, he fatally miscalculated the force of his religious convictions. As a young man he was punctilious in following all the observances of the pious Catholic, and in the course of his life this habit (though it was never merely that) became second nature with him. A characteristic anecdote is related in this connection. The Duke of Norfolk happened to come upon him one Sunday morning in his parish Church at Chelsea wearing a surplice and singing

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in the choir. As they went home together arm in arm the Duke exclaimed "God body! God body! My Lord Chancellor a parish clerk, a parish clerk! You dishonour the King and his office!" "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas More, smiling upon the Duke; "your Grace may not think that the King, your master and mine, will with me for serving God his master be offended or thereby count his office dishonoured." In his household long family prayers were the order, and beside he set apart a special chapel, library, and gallery for his private meditations and devotions. As quite a young man he had turned eagerly to devotional religion of this kind, and we may be sure that the common form prayers he daily recited for his family bore a very intimate relation to these exercises of the heart. If one looks at the Holbein portrait in the National Portrait Gallery the first impression received is that of a strange resemblance about the mouth to Newman in his Oriel days. About More's questionings, however, we know little. He passed long hours in prayer, he slept on the bare boards of his room supporting his head on a log of wood, he fasted much and throughout his life wore a hair shirt next his skin. What would we not give to know the fruits of those long hours of meditation and prayer?

But at the moment when these austerities were at their height, his whole manner of life was rudely interrupted. He had been spending four years and more of his early twenties in the Charterhouse, though without having taken vows, and was definitely contemplating a monastic life when with unusual suddenness he found himself at the turning point of his career. The Colte daughters

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came into his life, and within a year his extraordinary marriage was an accomplished fact. The significance of that marriage has already been indicated so far as its more obvious aspects are concerned. Unfortunately not enough is known of all the circumstances to enable us to understand as much as we would like. The scope for conjecture is a wide one and the temptation to speculate very difficult to resist. If only he had married the daughter he loved and she had been on the side of the reformers, it is morally certain that the dark page of the persecutions would never have been filled. Perhaps we may venture further. In all the great enthusiasms of his nature he showed himself distinctly a child of the Renaissance. He was the personal friend of most of the men whose names typify the movement in its various phases. His own writings breathed its spirit; all his occupations were those characteristic of the age. In his office he unconsciously stood for one of the great Renaissance forces in social life, then only dimly understood, if at all. In his person he was the first of a line of lay Lord Chancellors. For centuries ecclesiastics had always held that position and the appointment of a layman was almost unknown. After him hardly a single ecclesiastic was ever appointed to the office. Yet in all things he did and was, he seems never to have had an inkling of the great moulding forces of the time he so strikingly reflected. Some of the historic figures in English public life have possessed almost prophetic vision of the tendencies of their age. More shares their profound religious fervour, their rapt contemplation of a truth underlying the appearance of things and their moral courage in

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relation to it, yet that other quality of theirs, their insight, he seemingly never acquired. That gift, Plato believed, is shared by philosophers and lovers. Perhaps it is no more than idle speculation that the gift was denied him with the denial of his love. Be that as it may, the consequences of his marriage and their effect on his character are even more marked than we might expect. His wife died not many years later and he remarried within a year of her death without even the affectation of affection. If the indications afforded by Roper and Cresacre More are sufficient to go upon, his second wife neither understood him nor indeed was ever capable of sympathising with a nature such as his. More for his part was frankly cynical about it and jested with the grossness of his father. In later years his daughter Meg filled the gap in his emotional life. But if his marriage left his emotional nature starved and unsatisfied, it at least allowed for the development of an altogether fresh side of his character. It may be that quite apart from the influence of the Colte sisters he was never whole-heartedly fitted for the monastery. He could never have become the ideal recluse, without at any rate allowing a large part of a complex and many-sided nature to become warped. The Renaissance spirit was creative and practical; much of the better effort of the time went to social and political activity, and for More social service was by no means an unimportant branch of the religious life. So it only needed a favourable conjunction of circumstances to liberate More's energies in that direction; and if his marriage could effect that but imperfectly it none the less was sufficient. For ten years he laboured hard at

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his profession and by that time he was prepared, though still ill-inclined, to embark upon his public career. It was a career marked by all the characteristics one associates with English statesmen whose genius is religion. He was indefatigable in his work, his standard of integrity amazed his subordinates and contrasted remarkably with that of Wolsey, he was utterly unselfish in all he did and had no thought but for the public good. His aims and ideals were similarly what one would expect ; even the expression of them has a familiar ring.—They might have his head if only the European nations were at peace, and uniformity prevailed in religion.—Into public life he carried over the yearnings of the religious temperament, something too of an unsatisfied nature, and the inexorable demands of the Father.

Nevertheless, the predominant trends of More's mind were now definitely realistic. The merchants of the City of London would hardly have chosen for the negotiation of a commercial treaty one who impressed them as a visionary or a monk out of his cloister ; and we may be sure that though he wore a hair shirt next his skin he had their interests very much at heart. He led an exceedingly active life, and for such pursuits as literature he had to snatch a few hours after the rest of his household had retired to bed, or rise early in the morning long before they were up. He engaged in music as a pastime, and his familiar conversation was that of a wag. He entertained congenial company lavishly, and readily exchanged civilities with all manner of men. Detached, aloof, if you will, he was never, as so many religious characters have been, a hermit among men. The discussions in

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the first book of the *Utopia* admirably bring out the temper of his mind in this respect. The proposal to substitute what is virtually a form of penal servitude for the death penalty in the case of convicted thieves is rounded off with a concrete suggestion for carrying it into effect. Ways and means must be found and More knows what they are. Unerringly does he put his finger on the constitutional device available for its introduction. Even more clearly does this shew itself later on, when the discussion turns on the place of political speculation in the actual world of practical politics. We have all met the impatient idealist and the enthusiast with his social panacea, but it is rare to find in a zealous reformer such complete sanity and such a vivid sense of the actual as we find in the *Utopia*: "Indeed, quoth I, this school philosophy hath no place among kings. But there is another philosophy more civil which knoweth as ye would say her own stage . . . and playeth her part accordingly. . . . What part soever you have taken upon you play that as well as you can and make the best of it, and do not therefore disturb and bring out of order the whole matter because that another which is merrier and better cometh to your remembrance." Nor, in fact, did this practical sense ever desert him. His ever increasing preoccupation with religion after his resignation, his acrimonious theological controversies, the lengthy imprisonment preceding his trial, which grew more and more rigorous as time advanced, could in no way impair it. In the account Roper preserves for us of his final address to the Court there is a characteristic passage: "Though your lordships have now in earth been judges to my

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condemnation we may yet hereafter in heaven merrily all meet together to our everlasting salvation." Even in that supreme hour of bitterness and exhaustion he could not forget that his judges bore no personal responsibility for the sentence they had just passed. They were but doing their offices even as he was doing his.

Indeed it is this realism that provides the key to much that has been misunderstood in the *Utopia*. Not that any interpretation of his character will altogether make the *Utopia* seem a consistent whole. The conflicts of his inner life, as has been suggested already, were never more than superficially resolved, and they are carried over into the *Utopia*, which in so many senses is the faithful representation of the whole man. The book is divided into two parts utterly different in style, matter, and treatment. Yet once the essentially realistic bent of his mind is grasped, a principle of unity running through the whole can be discovered and the meaning and purpose of the book more readily appreciated. The first characteristic that marks off the *Utopia* from other works of its kind and stamps it even more as a product of the Renaissance is just this quality of realism. It is usual to emphasise the debt owed by the *Utopia* to Plato's *Republic*, but it is seldom appreciated how significant the connection really is. More was no servile, literary imitator of the *Republic*. His was an original contribution to the Platonic tradition. This has not always been the case with those whose names are prominently associated with that tradition. It is on record that a philosopher went to the Roman Emperor and asked permission to realise the Platonic state in a com-

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munity to be artificially created in the Campagna. No such philosophic fooling ever occupied the mind of More. Plato was concerned with the social problems of his time and the more significant oscillations in the social system they illustrated, with the understanding of social tendencies and the search for the true method of dealing with them. The same may be said of More with equal truth, and the *Utopia* itself is the evidence for it. Roughly speaking, the first book is a discussion of practical social problems, the second a description of the perfections of an ideal state. The striking differences between the two are as eloquent in this connection as the common element which pervades them both. In style the second book is but plain narrative, while the first is a vivid piece of dramatic writing; in tone the second is almost colourless compared with the variety and vigour of the first; there is little if any of his characteristic humour in the second, while the first owes much to the staple conversation of his home; the literary involution of the first is incomparably better done than in the second; much in the second is remote reflection, the very stuff of many a Book of Thoughts; the first is often vigorous polemic. It is significant too that the second part was written before the first, very much as if the practical side of More's character was not to be liberated till disburdened of the more ideal aspirations of his religious nature. That part of his nature that was left unsatisfied at his marriage must needs find expression first. But, indeed, the visionary character of the second book has been much over-emphasised. It would seem to be due to the initial prejudice of popular

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association of all visionary projects with the name of the book and the author. It is a commonplace that most of the social reforms that have come into being since the book was written are there adumbrated for the first time. But the fact is that the second part is by no means all of a piece. The purely imaginative element is practically confined to the literary structure, the description of the island, Amaurote and the rest, the political speculations varying in character according to the author's grip of the practical problem in issue, or the nature of the question he is setting himself to discuss. When he likes he can keep very close to the practical suggestions of the first book ; at other times he is but following out trains of speculation to their logical conclusions. It is comparatively rarely that baffled by the impossibilities of a situation he takes refuge in a well-known phantasy, and imagines a state of affairs that is a mere inversion of that prevailing in the workaday world. But that is only a limiting position. The whole is a free handling of practical problems that only grows visionary as the problems themselves grow remote from everyday experience. Throughout it is imaginative, but it is the imagination of practical wisdom.

And that is the secret of the *Utopia's* success. There are books in plenty that give free rein to the imagination, and by their flight from reality cheat the illusions of life. But no such work has ever enjoyed a tithe of the influence the *Utopia* has wielded. From whatever point of view we look at it its success has been remarkable. No one standard can measure it, and critics find it hard to select anything like a representative in-

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dication. The wisest fall back on that afforded by the demand of the reading public at the time of its publication, for the million sales of a modern novel pale into significance beside the reception it met with. The most flattering of the descriptions showered upon it became part of the sober, everyday title by which the work was known. In this "truly golden book" emperor and priest, king and peasant, artist and scholar, and every figure of the Tudor world found his own baser metal transmuted. It struck a responsive chord in the hearts of thoughtful men and women everywhere in Europe, and Utopia became the day-dream of the Renaissance. The history of modern Europe is the story of the development of the Renaissance forces, and as each in turn has helped to mould the frame of its social life, it has realised one or other aspect of that wonderful dream. Slowly, but inevitably, the stuff of Utopia has replaced the outworn fabric of European society. So thoroughly has this process worked itself out that at the beginning of the last century there were only two of its cardinal ideas still unrealised, and of these the abolition of chattel slavery was fast becoming the most urgent public question of the day. It was this that kindled for the last time the embers of the Renaissance fires. A ghastly comedy had been enacting in Europe. The Congress of Vienna had staged a masque of the chief political vices with the crowning of virtue for an interlude. With stately phrase and solemn gesture the world was declared rid of chattel slavery. But the humour of Utopia was not to be balked. The spirit of More walked the earth once more. It touched the minds of a small band of Englishmen, who learnt

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that true religion is not to retire from the world when evil triumphs, but to make the world its home and mould social life after the pattern it divines. It touched them with its pristine courage, its undaunted patience, its sacramental handling of all common things. Theirs was the fire of his imagination, theirs, too, his passionate humanism. And they set themselves to do what the Treaty had pretended to do, nowise daunted by its gigantic cheat. And thus it comes about that, with chattel slavery banished, there is but one thing left to realise of the day-dream of the Renaissance—to rid the world of organised war. All too recently an even ghastlier comedy has been enacting in Europe with a varied masque but a similar interlude. With stately phrase and solemn gesture the world was declared rid of organised war. But the humour of Utopia. . . . But that is a theme for other pens. Our concern is but with day-dreams, the day-dreams of an artist who, despite the gloom, can see the sun on the wall, and when the sun goes down and the stars appear can feel the calm of an all pervading peace slowly steal over a careworn world.

H. G.

UTOPIA



THE FIRST BOOK OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY¹

CONCERNING the best state of a Commonwealth

THE most victorious and triumphant King of England, Henry the Eighth of that name, in all royal virtues a prince most peerless, had of late in controversy with Charles, the right high and mighty King of Castile,² weighty matters and of great importance; for the debatement and final determination whereof the king's Majesty sent me ambassador into Flanders, joined in commission

¹ The name is purely fanciful.

² Charles I of Spain, afterwards Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire.

MORE AT BRUGES

with Cuthbert Tunstall,¹ a man doubtless out of comparison, and whom the king's Majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls. But of this man's praises I will say nothing, not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth, but because his virtue and learning be greater and of more excellency, than that I am able to praise them ; and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well known, that they need not, nor ought not, of me to be praised unless I would seem to shew and set forth the brightness of the sun with a candle, as the proverb saith.

There met us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their prince had for that matter appointed commissioners, excellent men all. The chief and head of them was the Margrave (as they call him) of Bruges, a right honourable man, but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, Provost of Casselles,² a man not only by learning, but also by nature, of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned : but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his natural wit and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows. After that we had once or twice met, and upon certain points or articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certain space took their leave of us and departed to Brussels, there to know their prince's pleasure. I in the meantime (for so my business lay) went straight thence to Antwerp.

¹ 1474-1559. Bishop of London, 1522 ; of Durham, 1530, of which he was twice deprived.

² The Roman Castellum Morinorum, now Cassel, in France.

PETER GILES OF ANTWERP

While I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which ¹ to me was more welcome than any other, did visit me one Peter Giles,² a citizen of Antwerp, a man there in his country of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotion, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say whether the young man be in learning or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderful virtuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle: but towards his friends so kindhearted, so loving, so faithful, so trusty, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous. No man useth less simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talk and communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that without harm, that through his gentle entertainment and his sweet and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent desire that I had to see my native country, my wife, and my children, whom then I did much long and covet to see, because that at that time I had been more than four months from them.

Upon a certain day, as I was hearing the divine service in Our Lady's Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous, and curious church of building in all the city, and also most frequented of people, and, the service being done, was ready to go home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid Peter talking with a certain stranger, a man well stricken

¹ We should now say who instead of which.

² One of the pupils of Erasmus.

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY

in age, with a black sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders, whom by his favour and apparel forthwith I judged to be a mariner. But when the said Peter saw me, he cometh unto me and saluteth me. And as I was about to answer him: "See you this man?" saith he (and therewith he pointed to the man that I saw him talking with before), "I was minded," quoth he, "to bring him straight home to you." "He should have been very welcome to me," said I, "for your sake." "Nay," (quoth he) "for his own sake, if you knew him, for there is no man this day living that can tell you of so many strange and unknown peoples and countries as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to hear of such news." "Then I conjectured not far amiss" (quoth I), "for even at the first sight I judged him to be a mariner." "Nay," (quoth he), "there ye were greatly deceived; he hath sailed, indeed, not as the mariner Palinurus,¹ but as the expert and prudent prince, Ulysses—yea, rather as the ancient and sage philosopher Plato. For this same Raphael Hythloday (for this is his name) is very well learned in the Latin tongue, but profound and excellent in the Greek language, wherein he ever bestowed more study than in the Latin, because he had given himself wholly to the study of philosophy: whereof he knew that there is nothing extant in Latin that is to any purpose, saving a few of Seneca's and Cicero's doings. His patrimony that he was born unto, he left to his brethren (for he is a Portugal born), and for the desire he had to see and know the far countries

¹ The helmsman of Aeneas (*Aeneid*, iii, 202), drowned off the Italian coast.

HIS EARLY TRAVELS

of the world, he joined himself in company with Americus Vespucius,¹ and in the three last voyages of those four that be now in print and abroad in every man's hands, he continued still in his company, saving that in the last voyage he came not home again with him. For he made such means and shift, what by entreaty and what by importunate suit, that he got licence of Master Americus (though it were sore against his will), to be one of the twenty-four which in the end of the last voyage were left in the country of Gulike.² He was therefore left behind for his mind's sake, as one that took more thought and care for travelling than dying, having customably in his mouth these sayings: He that hath no grave is covered with the sky;³ and, The way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance. Which fantasy of his (if God had not been his better friend) he had surely bought full dear. But after the departure of Master Vespucius, when he had travelled through and about many countries with five of his companions Gulikians, at the last by marvellous chance he arrived in Taprobanē,⁴ from whence he went to Calicut,⁵ where he chanced to find certain of his country ships, wherein he returned again into his country, nothing less than looked for.

All this when Peter had told me, I thanked him

¹ Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512), Italian navigator, made four voyages along the coasts of America, which was named after him.

² L. has *in Castello*, in the fort. The translator took this for a proper name, being misled by the initial capital. Gulike is the English form of Jülich near Cologne, the Latin name of which was Castellum.

³ Lucan, *Pharsalia* vii, 819.

⁴ The old name of Ceylon.

⁵ A port on the Malabar coast.

AMONG THE GULIKIANS

for his gentle kindness, that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication he thought should be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to Raphael. And when we had haylsed the one the other, and had spoken these common words that be customably spoken at the first meeting and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my garden, upon a bench covered with green turves, we sat down talking together. There he told us how that, after the departing of Vespucius, he and his fellows that tarried behind in Gulike, began by little and little, through fair and gentle speech, to win the love and favour of the people of that country; inso-much that within short space they did dwell among them not only harmless, but also occupied with them very familiarly. He told us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certain great man (whose name and country is now quite out of my remembrance), which of his mere liberality did bear the costs and charges of him and his five companions: and besides that, gave them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey (which by water was in boats, and by land in waggons), and to bring them to other princes with very friendly commendations. Thus after many days journeys, he said, they found towns and cities, and weal publiques, full of people, governed by good and wholesome laws.

-great
remembrance

“For under the line equinoctial and of both sides of the same, as far as the sun doth extend his course, lieth (quoth he) great and wide deserts and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dried up

THEIR COUNTRY DESCRIBED

with continual and intolerable heat. All things be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and unpleasant to behold, all things out of fashion and comeliness; inhabited with wild beasts and serpents, or at the leastwise with people that be no less savage, wild and noisome than the very beasts themselves be. But a little further beyond that, all things begin by little and little to wax pleasant, the air soft, temperate, and gentle, the ground covered with green grass, less wildness in the beasts. At the last shall ye come again to people, cities, and towns, wherein is continual intercourse and occupying of merchandise and chaffer, not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with merchants of far countries, both by land and water. There I had occasion (said he) to go to many countries on every side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellows were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first were made plain, flat and broad in the bottom, trough-wise. The sails were made of great rushes or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged keels, and sails of canvas, yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours; the shipmen also very expert and cunning, both in the sea and in the weather."

But he said that he found great favour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feat and use of the loadstone, which to them before that time was unknown; and therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearful upon the sea, nor to venture upon it, but only in the summer time. But now they have such a confidence in that stone that they fear not stormy winter, in so

FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

doing farther from care than jeopardy¹; insomuch that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thing, through their own foolish hardiness, shall turn them to evil and harm,² which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious. But what he told us that he saw, in every country where he came, it were very long to declare. Neither is it my purpose at this time to make rehearsal thereof, but peradventure in another place will I speak of it, chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be known, as in special be those decrees and ordinances that he marked to be well and wisely provided and enacted among such people as do live together in a civil policy and good order. For of such things did we busily inquire and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be nothing new, of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found, than be barking Scyllas, ravening Celaenos, and Laestrygonians,³ devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters; but to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new-found lands, so he rehearsed many acts and constitutions whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take ensample, to amend their faults, enormities, and errors, whereof

¹ They are apt to imperil their lives through carelessness or too great sense of security.

² Turn out a misfortune to them (*L. eis*).

³ Scylla and Charybois were two fabulous sea-monsters, half-maidens, half-fish, surrounded below by hideous dogs, located in the Straits of Messina. Celaeno was one of the Harpies. The Laestrygonians were cannibal giants, seen and described by Ulysses, variously located.

GILE'S ADVICE TO RAPHAEL

in another place (as I said) I will intreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only what he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians. But first I will repeat our former communication, by the occasion and, as I might say, the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of that weal publique.

For when Raphael had very prudently touched divers things that be amiss, some here and some there, yea, very many of both parts, and again had spoken of such wise and prudent laws and decrees as be established and used both here among us and also among them, as a man so cunning and expert in the laws and customs of every several country, as though into what place soever he came guestwise, there he had led all his life: then Peter much marvelling at the man, "Surely, Master Raphael," (quoth he) "I wonder greatly why you get you not into some king's court, for I am sure there is no prince living that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning and this your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also [are] meet to instruct him with examples and help him with counsel. And, thus doing, you shall bring yourself in a very good case,¹ and also be in ability to help all your friends and kinsfolk."

"As concerning my friends and kinsfolk", (quoth he) "I pass not greatly for them: for I think I have sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things that other men do not depart from until they be old and sick, yea, which they be then very loath to leave when they can no longer keep, those very same things did I, being

¹ You will greatly improve your position.

NOT ACCEPTED BY HIM

not only lusty and in good health but also in the flower of my youth, divide among my friends and kinsfolk: which I think with this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not¹ to require nor to look that, besides this, I should for their sakes give myself in bondage to kings." "Nay, God forbid," (quoth Peter), "it is not my mind that you should be in bondage to kings, but as a retainer to them at your pleasure,² which surely I think is the nighest way that you can devise, how to bestow your time fruitfully, not only for the private commodity of your friends and for the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for the advancement of yourself to a much wealthier state and condition than you be now in."

"To a wealthier condition" (quoth Raphael) "by that means that my mind standeth clean against? Now I live at liberty after mine own mind and pleasure: which I think very few of these great states and peers of realms can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that seek for great men's friendships, and therefore think it no great hurt, if they have not me nor two or three such other as I am."

"Well I perceive plainly, friend Raphael," (quoth I) "that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power. And truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man that is of your mind, than any of them all that be so high in power and authority. But you shall do as it becometh you, yea, and according to this wisdom and this high and free

¹ And that they ought not to . . .

² [This, quoth Raphael, is a syllable longer than that. Lat : *Hoc est, inquit ille, una syllaba plus quam servias*, there being a play upon *servias* . . . *inservias*.] The Latin goes on : "But I think", quoth Peter, "whatever you call it, that it is the nighest . . ."



courage of yours, if you can find in your heart so to appoint and dispose yourself, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the weal publike, though it be somewhat to your own pain and hindrance. And this shall you never so well do, nor with so great profit perform, as if you be of some great prince's council, and put in his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions and virtuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil. But in you is so perfect learning that without any experience, and again so great experience that without any learning, you may well be any king's councillor."

"You be twice deceived, Master More", (quoth he) "first in me and again in the thing itself. For neither is in me that ability that you force upon me; and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietness I should nothing further the weal publike. For, first of all, the most part of all princes have more delight in warlike matters

RAPHAEL AGAIN REFUSES

and feats of chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace, and employ much more study how by right or wrong to enlarge their dominions, than how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be councillors to kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed that he need not, or else he thinketh himself so wise that he will not, allow another man's counsel: saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly give assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certain great men, whose favours, because they be in high authority with their prince, by assentation and flattering they labour to obtain. And verily it is naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best. So both the raven and the ape think their own young ones fairest.

“Then, if a man in such a company, where some disdain and have despite at other men's inventions, and some count their own best, if among such men, I say, a man should bring forth anything that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in other places, there the hearers fare as though the whole estimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy to be overthrown, and [think] that ever after they should be counted for very undeserdes, unless they could in other men's inventions pick out matter to reprehend and find fault at. If all other poor helps fail, then this is their extreme refuge. ‘These things’ (say they) ‘pleased our forefathers and ancestors: would God we could be so wise as they were.’ And as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answer stopped every man's mouth, they sit down again.

ARCHBISHOP MORTON

As who should say, it were a very dangerous matter if a man in any point should be found wiser than his forefathers were. And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to lie unexecuted; but if in anything a better order might have been taken than by them was, there we take fast hold and find many faults. Many times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, overthwart, and wayward judgments; yea, and once in England."

"I pray you, sir," (quoth I) "have you been in our country?" "Yea forsooth" (quoth he); "and there I tarried for the space of four or five months together, not long after the insurrection that the western Englishmen made against their king,¹ which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the mean season I was much bound and beholden to the Right Reverend Father, John Morton,² Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England; a man, Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say), not more honourable for his authority than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasant to behold: gentle in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had

¹ Henry VII. The Cornishmen rebelled owing to heavy taxation, and a Cornish army, led by Lord Audley, which advanced upon London, was not checked until it reached Blackheath, where it was severely defeated (June 22, 1497) and the ringleaders executed.

² c. 1420-1500. A strong supporter of the Lancastrians in the Wars of the Roses. Having submitted to Edward IV, he was made Bishop of Ely (1479). Imprisoned by Richard III, he escaped and joined Henry of Richmond (Henry VII) in Flanders, who rewarded him by appointing him Archbishop of Canterbury (1486), and Lord Chancellor (1487).

THIEVES HANGED IN ENGLAND

great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man. In the which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudence, he took great delectation ; and the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal publique, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal publique also in a manner leaned unto him when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth he was taken from school into the Court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, and was continually troubled and tossed with divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned cannot easily be forgotten.

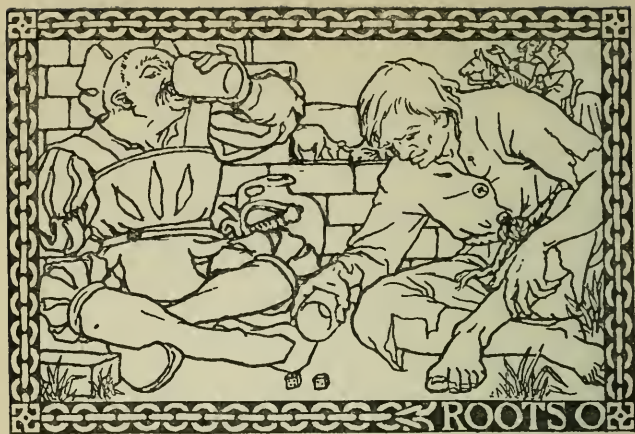
“ It chanced on a certain day when I sat at his table, there was also a certain layman, cunning in the laws of your realm ; who, I cannot tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and busily to praise that strait and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon felons, who, as he said, were for the most part¹ twenty hanged together upon one gallows. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose but greatly wonder and marvel, how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass that thieves

¹ Lat. *passim* : everywhere, in all directions.

HYTHLODAY'S DISAPPROVAL

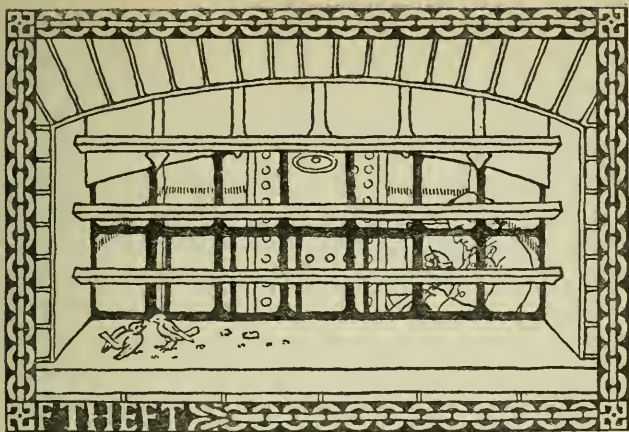
nevertheless were in every place so rife and rank. 'Nay, sir,' quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the cardinal), 'marvel nothing hereat, for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal publique. For it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft and yet not sufficient to refrain men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death; neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keep them from stealing which have none other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves; whereas much rather provision should have been made, that there were some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal, and then to die.' 'Yes,' (quoth he), 'this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry, to get their living by, if they would not willingly be naught.' 'Nay,' (quoth I), 'you shall not escape so; for, first of all, I will speak nothing of them that come home out of war maimed and lame, as not long ago out of Blackheath Field, and a little before that out of the wars in France,¹ such (I say) as put their lives in jeopardy for the weal publique's or the king's sake, and by the reason of weakness and lameness be not able to

¹ The object of which was to prevent a French annexation of Brittany. In 1492 Henry invaded France, but after besieging Boulogne, came to terms with the French King.



occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new; of them I will speak nothing, because war like the tide ebbeth and floweth. But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes.

“First, there is a great number of gentlemen which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like dorr, of that which others have laboured for; their tenants I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their lavish and prodigal spending able to bring themselves to very beggary): these gentlemen (I say) do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men, as soon as their master is dead, or [they] be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons than sick men; and many times



the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving-men, as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel, and also appaired their health, then gentlemen, because of their pale and sick faces and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a-work, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and mattock, for small wages and hard fare, which, being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look and to think himself too good to be any man's mate.'

"'Nay, by St Mary, sir,' (quoth the lawyer), 'not so, for this kind of men must we make most of.

PLAGUE OF MERCENARIES

For in them, as men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courages, than handicraftsmen and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissance of our host, when we must fight in battle.'

“‘Forsooth, sir, as well you might say,’ (quoth I), ‘that for war’s sake you must cherish thieves. For surely you shall never lack thieves¹ while you have them. No, nor thieves¹ be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves, so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much used among you, yet it is not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet France, besides this, is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace-time (if that be peace), which be brought in under the same colour and pretence, that hath persuaded you to keep these idle serving-men. For these wise fools and very arch-dolts thought the wealth of the whole country herein to consist, if there were ever in a readiness a strong and a sure garrison, especially of old practised soldiers,—for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be fain to seek for war, to the end that they may ever have practised soldiers and cunning man-slayers; lest that (as it is prettily said of Sallust)² their hands and their minds through idleness or lack of exercise should wax dull. But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain such beasts, the Frenchmen by their own harms have

¹ *Fures . . . latrones* (L.). The second word (robbers) is less contemptuous.

² Catiline, xvi. : *ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus*.

EVIL OF THE SYSTEM

learned, and the examples of the Romans, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other countries, do manifestly declare. For not only the Empire, but also the fields and cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrun and destroyed of their own armies beforehand had in a readiness. Now, how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear; that the French soldiers which from their youth have been practised and ured in feats of arms, do not crack or advance themselves to have very often got the upper hand and mastery of your new-made and unpractised soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, lest perchance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same handicraft men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish ploughmen of the country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men, unless it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or else whose bold stomachs be discouraged through poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought up in good crafts and laboursome works, whereby to get their living, whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now, either by reason of rest and idleness, be brought to weakness, or else by too easy and womanly exercises be made feeble and unable to endure hardness. Truly, howsoever the case standeth, this me thinketh is nothing available to the weal publique, for war sake, which you never have but when you will yourselves, to keep and maintain an innumerable flock of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noxious in peace,

EXCESSIVE SHEEP-FARMING

whereof you ought to have a thousand times more regard than of war.

“‘But yet this is not the only necessary cause of stealing. There is another which as I suppose is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone.’ ‘What is that?’ quoth the Cardinal. ‘Forsooth,’ (quoth I), ‘your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men, God wot, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefather and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much annoying the weal publique, leave no ground for tillage; they enclose all in pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns; and leave nothing standing but only the church, to make of it a sheep-house. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, laundes, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling-places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness.

“‘Therefore, that one covetous and unsatiable covorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by covin and fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put besides it, or by wrongs and

ENCLOSURE OF LANDS

injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all. By one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor silly wretched souls—men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woe-ful mothers with their young babes and their whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands: away they trudge I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household-stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale,¹ yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of naught. And when they have, wandering about, soon spent that, what can they else do but steal, and then justly, God wot, be hanged, or else go about a-begging? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not; whom no man will set a-work, though they never so willingly offer themselves thereto.² For one shepherd or herdman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite.

“ And this is also the cause that victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen that poor folk, which were wont to work it and make cloth of it, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be fain to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was enclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep

¹ Though it would bear keeping.

² [For there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left (Burnet, omitted by R.)].

DEARNESS OF FOOD

died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheep-masters' own heads. And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust; and they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle,—yea, and that so much the more, because that, after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store. For these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs. But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterwards, when they be fattened in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt, for yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred, faster than they can be brought up, then shall there also be felt great dearth, when store beginneth to fail, there where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist. For this great dearth of victuals causeth every man to keep as little houses and as small hospitality as he possibly may, and to put away their servants, whither, I pray you, but abegging? or else (which these gentle bloods and

GAMING AND IMMORALITY

stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto) a-stealing?

“Now, to amend the matters, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty is joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot. For not only gentlemen’s servants, but also handicraft men, yea, and almost the ploughmen of the country, with all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud newfangledness in their apparel, and too much prodigal riot and sumptuous fare at their table. Now bawds, queans, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stews, and yet another stews, wine-taverns, ale-houses, and tippling-houses, with so many naughty, lewd, and unlawful games, as dice, cards, tables, tennis, bowls, quoits, do not all these send the haunters of them straight a-stealing, when their money is gone? Cast out these pernicious abominations; make a law that they which plucked down farms and towns of husbandry shall build them up again, or else yield and uprender the possession of them to such as will go to the cost of building them anew. Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall, and with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness, let husbandry and tillage be restored again, let cloth-working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle serving-men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless, unless you find remedies for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons. For this justice is more beautiful

THE MAKING OF THIEVES

than just or profitable. For by suffering your youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected even from their tender age by little and little with vice, then a God's name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after they come to man's estate, which from their youth they were ever like to do: in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you, than make thieves and then punish them?'

"Now, as I was thus speaking, the lawyer began to make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing than answering, as thinking the memory worthy of the chief praise. 'Indeed, sir,' (quoth he), 'you have said well, being but a stranger, and one that might rather hear something of these matters, than have any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proof make manifest and plain. For first I will rehearse in order all that you have said: then I will declare in what things you be deceived, through lack of knowledge in all our fashions, manners, and customs; and, last of all, I will answer to your arguments, and confute them every one. First therefore, I will begin where I promised. Four things you seemed to me'—'Hold your peace,' quoth the Cardinal, 'for belike you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning; wherefore at this time you shall not take the pains to make your answer, but keep it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad that it might be even to-morrow next (unless either you or Master Raphael have any earnest let).¹ But now,

¹ Unless anything serious prevents you.

HANGING OF THIEVES

Master Raphael, I would very gladly hear of you, why you think theft not worthy to be punished with death ; or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the weal publique. For I am sure you are not of that mind, that you would have theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leave stealing, then if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their lives, what violence, what fear were able to hold their hands from robbing, which would take the mitigation of the punishment as a very provocation to the mischief?'

" 'Surely, my lord,' (quoth I), ' I think it no right nor justice that the loss of money should cause the loss of man's life. For mine opinion is that all the goods in the world are not able to countervail man's life. But if they would thus say : that the breaking of justice and the transgression of the laws is recompensed with this punishment, and not the loss of the money, then why may not this extreme justice well be called extreme injury? For neither so cruel governance, so strait rules, and unmerciful laws be allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the sword should be drawn ; nor so stoical ordinances are to be borne withal, as to count all offences of such equality,¹ that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him, were both a matter,² and the one no more heinous offence than the other : between the which two, if we have any respect for equity, no similitude or equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little

¹ An allusion to the Stoic paradox that all sins were equal.

² All the same.

HYTHLODAY'S OBJECTIONS

money? And if any man would understand killing, by this commandment of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise than man's constitutions defineth killing to be lawful,¹ then why may it not likewise, by man's constitutions, be determined after what sort whoredom, fornication, and perjury may be lawful? For whereas by the permission of God no man hath power to kill neither himself nor yet any other man: then, if a law made by the consent of men concerning slaughter of men ought to be of such strength, force, and virtue, that they, which contrary to the commandment of God have killed those whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be clean quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger of God's commandment: shall it not then by this reason follow that the power of God's commandment shall extend no further than man's law doth define and permit? And so it shall come to pass, that in like manner man's constitutions in all things shall determine how far the observation of all God's commandments shall extend. To be short, Moses's law, though it were ungentle and sharp, as a law that was given to bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn, and stiff-necked, yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death. And let us not think that God in the New Law of clemency and mercy, under the which He ruleth us with fatherly gentleness as His dear children, hath given us greater scope and licence to execute cruelty one upon another.

“Now ye have heard the reasons, whereby I am persuaded that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore I think there is nobody that knoweth

¹ Except so far as human law declares it lawful.

AN INCENTIVE TO MURDER

not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the weal publique, that a thief and a homicide or murderer should suffer equal and like punishment. For the thief, seeing that man that is condemned for theft in no less jeopardy, nor judged to no less punishment, than him that is convict of manslaughter; through this cogitation only he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained, to kill him whom else he would have but robbed. For the murder once done, he is in less care, and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or known, seeing the party is now dead and rid out of the way, which only might have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chance to be taken and described,¹ yet he is in no more danger and jeopardy than if he had committed but single felony. Therefore, while we go about with such cruelty to make thieves afraid, we provoke them to kill good men.

“Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better, that truly in my judgement is easier to be found than what punishment were worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offenders, which we know did in times past so long please the Romans—men in the administration of a weal publique most expert, politic, and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heinous trespasses, them they condemned into stone quarries, and into mines to dig metal, there to be kept in chains all the days of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so well as that I saw (while I travelled abroad about

¹ Caught. R. has the form *discribed*.

ROMAN AND PERSIAN METHODS

the world) used in Persia, among the people that commonly be called the Polylerites;¹ whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily governed; and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their own laws, saving that they pay a yearly tribute to the great King of Persia. But because they be far from the sea, compassed and closed in almost round about with high mountains, and do content themselves with the fruit of their own land, which is of itself very fertile and fruitful, for this cause neither they go to other countries, nor other come to them. And according to the old custom of the land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their dominions; and those that they have by reason of the high hills be easily defended; and the tribute which they pay to the mighty King setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallant, and may better be called happy or lucky than notable or famous. For they be not known as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to their next neighbours and borderers.

“They that in this land be attainted and convict of felony, make restitution of that they stole to the right owner, and not (as they do in other lands) to the king, whom they think to have no more right to the thief-stolen thing than the thief himself hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders which else remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they themselves be condemned to be common labourers: and, unless the theft be very heinous, they be neither locked in prison, nor

¹ Gk. *πολύς*, great, *λήρος*, nonsense.

HOW THEY PUNISH THIEVES

fettered in gyves, but be untied and go at large, labouring in the common works. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slackly to their work, be not only tied in chains, but also pricked forward with stripes. They that be diligent about their work live without check or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weal publike, because they be common servants to the commonwealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike. For in some part that is bestowed upon them is gathered of alms. And though that way be uncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and pity, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain lands be appointed hereunto; of the revenues whereof they be found. And in some places every man giveth a certain tribute for the same use and purpose. Again, in some parts of the land these serving-men (for so be these damned persons called) do no common work; but, as every private man needeth labourers, so he cometh into the market-place, and there hireth some of them for meat and drink, and a certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper than he should hire a free man. It is also lawful for them to chastise the sloth of these serving-men with stripes. By this means they never lack work; and besides the gaining of their meat and drink every one of them bringeth daily something into the common treasury.

“All and every one of them be apparelled in one colour. Their heads be not polled or shaven, but rounded a little above the ears; and the tip

THEIR DRESS AND PRIVILEGES

of the one ear is cut off. Every one of them may take meat and drink of their friends, and also a coat of their own colour ; but to receive money is death, as well to the giver as to the receiver. And no less jeopardy it is for a free man to receive money of a serving-man, for any manner of cause ; and likewise for serving-men to touch weapons. The serving-men of every several shire be distinct and known from other by their several and distinct badges, which to cast away is death, as it is also to be seen out of the precinct of their own shire, or to talk with a serving-man of another shire. And it is no less danger to them for to intend to run away, than to do it in deed : yea, and to conceal such an enterprise in a serving-man it is death, in a free man servitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and uttereth such counsels be decreed large gifts ; to a free man a great sum of money, to a serving-man freedom ; and to them both forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsel in that pretence.¹ So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their evil purpose as by repentance to turn back.

“‘This is the law and order in this behalf, as I have shewed you. Wherein what humanity is used, how far it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you do plainly perceive : forasmuch as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else but the destruction of vices and saving of men, with so using and ordering them that they cannot choose but be good, and what harm soever they did before, in the residue of their life to make amends for the same. Moreover it is so little feared that they should turn again to their vicious

¹ For having been privy to that design.

PRECAUTIONARY LEGISLATION

conditions, that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides before any other, in every shire changing and taking new. For if they would commit robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that purpose. They may touch no weapons, money found about them should betray the robbery. They shall be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to escape away by flying. For how should a man, that in no part of his apparel is like other men, fly privily unknown, unless he would run away naked? Howbeit, so also flying, he should be descried¹ by the rounding of his head and his ear-mark. But it is a thing to be doubted,² that they will lay their heads together and conspire against the weal publike. No, no, I warrant you. For the serving-men of one shire alone could never hope to bring to pass such an enterprise, without soliciting, enticing, and alluring the serving-men of many other shires to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their own countrymen and companions of their counsel in such a matter, which they know well should be jeopardy to the concealer thereof, and great commodity and goodness to the opener of the same: whereas on the other part, there is none of them all hopeless or in despair to recover again his freedom by humble obedience, by patient suffering, and by gaining good tokens and likelihood of himself, that he will ever after that live

¹ R. again has *discribed*.

² But it may be said there is a risk of their. . . .

CRITICISED BY THE LAWYER

like a true and an honest man. For every year divers be restored again to their freedom, through the commendation of their patience.'

"When I had thus spoken, saying moreover that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in England, with much more profit than the justice which the lawyer so highly praised: 'Nay,' (quoth the lawyer), 'this could never be so established in England, but that it must needs bring the weal publique into great jeopardy and hazard.' And as he was thus saying, he shaked his head, and made a wry mouth, and so held his peace. And all that were there present with one assent agreed to his saying.

"'Well,' (quoth the Cardinal), 'yet it were hard to judge without a proof whether this order would do well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the king should command execution to be deferred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the privileges of all sanctuaries; if then the proof would declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were established: else the condemned and reprieved persons may as well and as justly be put to death after this proof, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the mean space grow hereof. Yea, and methinketh that these vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many laws, and so little prevailed.'

"When the Cardinal had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of

CARDINAL MORTON'S APPROVAL

vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's own addition.

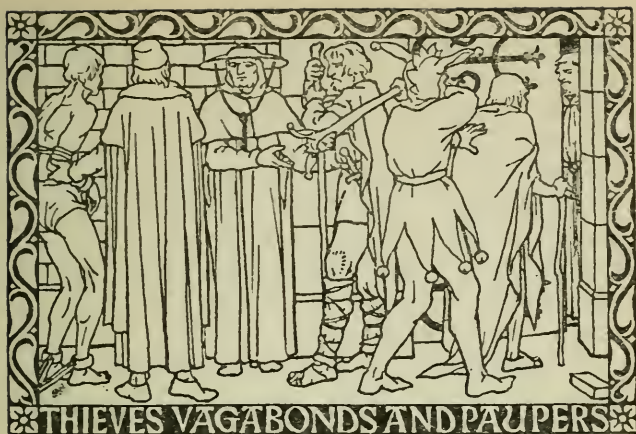
"I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall hear it, for there was no evil in it, and partly it pertained to the matter before said. There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite, or scoffer, which would seem to resemble and counterfeit the fool. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to represent: he so studied with words and sayings, brought forth so out of time and place, to make sport and move laughter, that he himself was oftener laughed at than his jokes were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuff, that he made the proverb true, which sayeth: 'he that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the mark.'¹ So that when one of the company said that through my communication a good order was found for thieves, and that the Cardinal had well provided for vagabonds, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sickness and age were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and unwieldy, that they were not able to work for their living: 'Tush,' (quoth he), 'let me alone with them: you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any good that this kind of people were driven somewhere out of my sight: they have so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they have with their lamentable tears begged money of

¹ R. changes the metaphor of the Latin proverb. *Si sæpe jacies, aliquando Venerem jacies*: "He who throws the dice often, will sometimes have a lucky hit."—(Burnet).

THE JESTER'S OPINION

me ; and yet they could never to my mind so tune their song, that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For evermore the one of these two chanced : either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. When they see me go by, because they will not lose their labour, they let me go, and say not one word to me. So they look for nothing of me ; no, in good sooth, no more than if I were a priest. But I will make a law, that all these beggars shall be distributed and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made lay brethren, as they call them, and the women nuns.' Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest ; yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

"But a certain friar, graduate in divinity, took such pleasure and delight in this jest of priests and monks, that he also, being else a man of grisly and stern gravity, began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. 'Nay,' (quoth he), 'you shall not so be rid and dispatched of beggars, unless you make some provision also for us friars.' 'Why,' (quoth the jester), 'that is done already ; for my lord himself set a very good order for you, when he decreed that vagabonds should be kept strait and set to work ; for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds that be.' This jest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disprove it, every man took it gladly, saving only the friar. For he (and that no marvel), when he was thus touched on the quick and hit on the gall, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribald, villain,



javel, backbiter, slanderer, and the son of perdition : citing therewith terrible threatenings out of holy scripture. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the scoffer in deed, and verily he was good at that, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. 'Patient yourself, good master friar,' (quoth he), 'and be not angry, for scripture saith : *in your patience you shall save your souls.*'¹ Then the friar (for I will rehearse his own very words), 'No, gallows wretch, I am not angry' (quoth he), 'or at the leastwise I do not sin : for the psalmist saith, *be you angry and sin not.*'²

"Then the Cardinal spake gently to the friar, and desired him to quiet himself. 'No, my lord,' (quoth he), 'I speak not but of a good zeal as I ought : for holy men had a good zeal. Wherefore it is said : *the zeal of thy house hath eaten me.*'³ And it is sung in the Church : *the scorers of Elisha, while he went up into the house*

¹ Luke xxi, 19.

² Psalm iv, 4.

³ Psalm, lxix, 9.

THE ANGRY FRIAR

*of God, felt the zeal of the bald,*¹ as peradventure this scorning villain ribald shall feel.' 'You do it' (quoth the Cardinal) 'perchance of a good mind and affection, but methinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fool's wit, and with a fool take in hand a foolish contention.' 'No, forsooth, my lord', (quoth he), 'I should not do more wisely. For Solomon the wise saith: *Answer a fool according to his foolishness* ;² like as I do now, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed. For if many scorers of Elisha, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many friars feel, among whom be many bald men? And we have also the pope's bull, whereby all that mock and scorn us be excommunicate, suspended, and accursed.' The Cardinal, seeing that none end would be made, sent away the jester by a privy beck, and turned³ the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us.

"Look, Master More, with how long and tedious a tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort give ear unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out: which, though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgement of them, which, when they had im-

¹ From the hymn of Adam of S. Victor based on 2 Kings, ii, 24.

² Proverbs, xxvi, 4.

³ Lat. abbs *commiduum*, "conveniently," "opportunely."

MORE REPEATS HIS ADVICE

proved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent, hearing the Cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same; so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish inventions, because that he himself, by smiling at them, did seem not to disapprove them. So that hereby you may right well perceive how little the courtiers would regard and esteem me and my sayings."

"I ensure you, Master Raphael," (quoth I), "I took great delectation in hearing you; all things that you said were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And methought myself to be in the meantime not only at home in my country, but also, through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought up of a child, to wax a child again. And, friend Raphael, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no means change my mind, but that I must needs believe that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your heart to follow some prince's court, shall with your good counsels greatly help and further the commonwealth. Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whereas your Plato¹ judgeth that weal publikes shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else if kings give themselves to the study of philosophy, how far, I pray you, shall commonwealths then be from this

¹ *Republic*, v, 473.

RAPHAEL STILL REJECTS IT

felicity, if philosophers will¹ vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsels?" "They be not so unkind" (quoth he) "but they would gladly do it; yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if kings and princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsel. But Plato did doubtless well foresee, unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of philosophy, that else they would never thoroughly allow the counsel of philosophers, being themselves before even from their tender age infected and corrupt with perverse and evil opinions. Which thing Plato himself proved true in king Dionysius.² If I should propose to any king wholesome decrees, doing my endeavour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and naughtiness, think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing-stock?"

"Go to, suppose that I were with the French king, and there sitting in his council, while that in that most secret consultation, the king himself there being present in his own person, they beat their brains, and search the very bottoms of their wits to discuss by what craft and means the king may still keep Milan, and draw to him again fugitive Naples; and then how to conquer the Venetians, and how to bring under his jurisdiction all Italy; then how to win the dominion of Flanders, Brabant, and of all Burgundy, with divers other lands whose kingdoms he hath long ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here, while one counsellor to conclude a league of peace with

¹ There should probably be a negative here (will *not*) as in the Latin.

² Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, whose education Plato had charge of.

FRENCH DIPLOMACY

the Venetians, which shall so long endure, as shall be thought meet and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsel, yea, and besides that to give them part of the prey, which afterwards, when they have brought their purpose about after their own minds, they may require and claim again. Another thinketh best to hire the Germans. Another would have the favour of the Switzers won with money. Another's advice is to appease the puissant power of the emperor's majesty with gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice. While another giveth counsel to make peace with the king of Arragon, and to restore unto him his own kingdom of Navarre, as a full assurance of peace. Another cometh in with his five eggs,¹ and adviseth to hook in the king of Castile with some hope of affinity or alliance, and to bring to their party certain peers of his court for great pensions: while they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the meantime with England: and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen, and with most sure and strong bands to bind that weak and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the Scots must be had in a readiness, as it were in a standing ready at all occasions, in aunteers the Englishmen should stir never so little, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover, privily and secretly, for openly it may not be done by the truce that is taken, privily therefore, I say, to make much of some peer of England that is banished his country, which must claim title to

¹ Proverbial for any trumpery proposition. It is not in the Latin.

THE CASE OF THE ACHORIANS

the crown of the realm, and affirm himself just inheritor thereof; that by this subtle means they may hold to them the king, in whom else they have but small trust and affiance.

"Here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsel their king only to war; here, if I, silly man, should rise up and will them to turn over the leaf¹ and learn a new lesson; saying that my counsel is not to meddle with Italy, but to tarry still at home, and that the kingdom of France alone is almost greater than that it may well be governed of one man, so that the king should not need to study how to get more; and then should propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achorians, which be situate over against the Island of Utopia on the south-east side. These Achorians² once made war in their king's quarrel, for to get him another kingdom which he laid claim unto, and advanced himself right inheritor to the crown thereof by the title of an old alliance.³ At the last, when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it as they had in getting it, and that either their new conquered subjects by sundry occasions were making daily insurrections to rebel against them, or else that other countries were continually with divers inroads and foragings invading them; so that they were ever fighting, either for them, or against them, and never could break up their camps; seeing themselves in the mean season pillaged and impoverished; their

¹ Lat. *verti vela*: to go on another tack.

² Gk. *a*, not *χωπος*, place, corresponding in meaning to Utopia, 'Nowhere.'

³ By marriage (Lat. *affinitas*).

PETITION TO THEIR KING

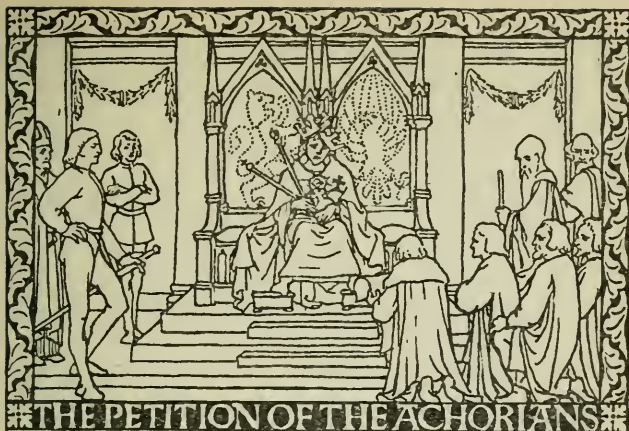
money carried out of the realm; their own men killed to maintain the glory of another nation; when they had no war, peace nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing; that through manslaughter they had gathered boldness to mischief; that their laws were had in contempt and nothing set by or regarded; that their king, being troubled with the charge and governance of two kingdoms, could not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both; seeing again that all these evils and troubles were endless, at the last laid their heads together, and, like faithful and loving subjects, gave to their king free choice and liberty to keep still the one of these two kingdoms, whether he would; alleging that he was not able to keep both, and that they were more than might well be governed of half a king, forasmuch as no man would be content to take him for his muleteer that keepeth another man's mules besides his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his old kingdom, and to give over the new to one of his friends; who shortly after was violently driven out. Furthermore, if I should declare unto them that all this busy preparation to war, whereby so many nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at length through some mischance be in vain and to none effect; and that therefore it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of France, as his fore-fathers and predecessors did before him; to make much

HOW KINGS RAISE MONEY

of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himself to love his subjects, and again to be beloved of them; willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them; and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn him to: this mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken?" "So God help me, not very thankfully" (quoth I).

"Well, let us proceed then" (quoth he). "Suppose that some king and his council were together whetting their wits, and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the king with great treasure of money. First one counsellor to raise and enhance the valuation of money when the king must pay any: and again to call down the value of coin to less than it is worth when he must receive or gather any: for thus great sums shall be paid with a little money, and where little is due much shall be received. Another counsellor to feign war, that when under this colour and pretence the king hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poor commonalty, as taking pity and compassion, God wot, upon man's blood, like a loving and a merciful prince.

"Another putteth the king in remembrance of certain old and moth-eaten laws, that of long time have not been put in execution, which, because no man can remember that they were made, every man has transgressed. The fines of these laws he counsellor to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable; as the



which hath a show and colour of justice. Another adviseth him to forbid many things under great penalties and fines, specially such things as is for the people's profit not to be used : and afterwards, to dispense for money with them which, by this prohibition, sustain loss and damage. For by this means the favour of the people is won, and profit riseth two ways : first, by taking forfeits of them whom covetousness of gain hath brought in danger of this statute, and also by selling privileges and licences ; which the better that the prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them ; as one that is loth to grant to any private person anything that is against the profit of his people : and therefore may sell none but at an exceeding dear price.

"Another giveth the king counsel to endanger unto his grace the judges of the realm, that he may have them ever on his side, which must in every matter dispute and reason for the king's right. And they must be called into the king's

HIS CONTROL OF THE JUDGES

palace, and be desired to argue and discuss his matters in his own presence. So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to allege and object, or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already, or else to pick a thank with his prince, will not find some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree among themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough, and bringing the manifest truth in doubt, in the mean season the king may take a fit occasion to understand the law as shall make most for his advantage, whereunto all other for shame or for fear will agree. Then the judges may be bold to pronounce of the king's side. For he that giveth sentence for the king cannot be without a good excuse. For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity of his part, or the bare words of the law, or a writhen and wrested understanding of the same, or else, which with good and just judges is of greater force than all laws be, the king's indisputable prerogative. To conclude, all the councillors agree and consent together with the rich Crassus,¹ that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army; furthermore that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly, for all that all men have, yea, also the men themselves be all his; and that every man hath so much of his own as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for

¹ Marcus Licinius Crassus, called Dives, one of the so-called first triumvirate—Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus. According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii, 10, 134), he said that no one could be considered rich, unless he had an annual income sufficient to keep up an army.



the king's advantage that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession; as whose safeguard doth herein consist, that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty; because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments; whereas, on the other part, need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs.

"Here again if I should rise up, and boldly affirm that all these counsels be to the king's dishonour and reproach, whose honour and safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and riches of his people than by his own treasures; and if I should declare that the commonalty chooseth their king for their own sake and not for his sake, for this intent that through his labour and study they might all live wealthily, safe from wrongs and injuries; and that therefore

THE IDEAL KING

the king ought to take more care for the wealth of his people than for his own wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepherd is, in that he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself. For as touching this, that they think the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in the poverty of the people, the thing itself showeth that they be far out of the way. For where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding than among beggars? Who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations, than they that be not content with the present state of their life? Or, finally, who be bolder stomached to bring all in hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some wind-fall) than they that have now nothing to lose? And if so be that there were any king, that were so smally regarded or so behated of his subjects, that other ways he could not keep them in awe, but only by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggary; surely it were better for him to forsake his kingdom, than to hold it by this means; whereby though the name of a king be kept, yet the majesty is lost. For it is against the dignity of a king to have rule over beggars, but rather over rich and wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and courageous¹ Fabricius, when he said that he had rather be a ruler of rich men than be rich himself. And verily one man to live in pleasure and wealth, while all other weep and smart for it, that is the part not of a king, but of a jailor.

“To be short, as he is a foolish physician that

¹ Lat. *erecti ac sublimis animi*; of upright and lofty mind. C. Fabricius was a Roman consul and general, famous for his frugality. The author of the saying was really M'. Curius Dentatus, another Roman consul, equally famous for his frugality.

THE KING OF THE MACARIANS

cannot cure his patient's disease unless he cast him in another sickness, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjects but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life, he must needs grant that he knoweth not the feat how to govern freemen. But let him rather amend his own life, renounce dishonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chief vices that cause him to run in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him live of his own, hurting no man. Let him do cost not above his power. Let him restrain wickedness. Let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickedness to increase, afterward to be punished. Let him not be too hasty in calling again laws, which a custom hath abrogated; specially such as have been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed. And let him never under the cloak and pretence of transgression take such fines and forfeits as no judge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile.

“Here, if I should bring forth before them the law of the Macarians,¹ which be not far distant from Utopia; whose king, the day of his coronation, is bound by a solemn oath that he shall never at any time have in his treasure above a thousand pound of gold or silver. They say a very good king, which took more care for the wealth and commodity of his country than for the enriching of himself, made this law to be a stop and a bar to kings for heaping and hoarding up so much money as might impoverish their people. For he foresaw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battle against his own people,

¹ Gk. *Μακάριοι*, the Happy or Blessed Ones.

HIS TREASURE LIMITED

if they should chance to rebel; and also to maintain his wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies. Again, he perceived the same stock of money to be too little and insufficient to encourage and able him wrongfully to take away other men's goods; which was the chief cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people should not lack money wherewith to maintain their daily occupying and chaffer. And seeing the king could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescript sum of his stock, he thought he would seek no occasions to do his subjects injury. Such a king shall be feared of evil men, and loved of good men. These and such other informations if I should use among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deaf hearers think you should I have?"

"Deaf hearers, doubtless," (quoth I), "and in good faith no marvel. And to be plain with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be used, or such counsel given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received. For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already prevented with clean contrary persuasions? This school philosophy is not unpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the councils of kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things have no place."¹

"That is it which I meant", (quoth he), "when I said philosophy had no place among kings."

¹ But in . . . no place. This does not appear in the Latin (ed. 2).

A PHILOSOPHY FIT FOR KINGS

“‘Indeed’, (quoth I), ‘this school philosophy hath not, which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another philosophy more civil, which knoweth as ye would say her own stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving herself in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comeliness, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the philosophy that you must use. Or else, while a comedy of Plautus is playing, and the vile bondmen scoffing and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come upon the stage in a philosopher’s apparel, and rehearse out of *Octavia*¹ the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero; had it not been better for you to have played the dumb person² than, by rehearsing that which served neither for the time nor place, to have made such a tragical comedy or gallimawfrey? For by bringing in other stuff that nothing appertaineth to the present matter, you must needs mar and pervert the play that is in hand, though the stuff that you bring be much better. What part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can, and make the best of it: and do not therefore disturb and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier and better, cometh to your remembrance. So the case standeth in a commonwealth, and so it is in the consultations of kings and princes. If evil opinions and naughty persuasions cannot be utterly and quite plucked out of their hearts; if you cannot, even as you would, remedy vices, which use and custom hath confirmed; yet for this cause you must not leave and

¹ One of Seneca’s tragedies.

² In modern theatrical language, a supernumerary.

TRUTH MUST BE TOLD

forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keep down the winds. No, nor you must not labour to drive into their heads new and strange informations¹, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtle train study and endeavour yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose; and that which you cannot turn to good, so to order it that it be not very bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good: which I think will not be yet, this good many years."

"By this means" (quoth he) "nothing else will be brought to pass, but whiles that I go about to remedy the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they. For if I would speak things that be true, I must needs speak such things. But as for to speak false things, whether that be a philosopher's part, or no, I cannot tell; truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine, though peradventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet can I not see why it should seem strange, or foolishly new-fangled. If so be that I should speak those things that Plato faineth in his weal publique, or that the Utopians do in theirs; these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seem spoken out of place; forasmuch as here amongst us every man hath his possessions several to himself, and there all things be common. But what was in my communication contained, that might not and ought not in any place to be spoken—saving that to them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with them-

¹ Lat. *sermo*: conversation.

PERVERTED CHRISTIANITY

selves to roam ¹ headlong the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them back, and sheweth them the jeopardies? Verily, if all things that evil and vicious manners have caused to seem inconvenient and naught should be refused as things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christian people wink at ² the most part of all those things which Christ taught us, and so straitly forbade them to be winked at, that those things also which he whispered in the ears of his disciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses.³ And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world nowadays, than my communication was. But preachers, sly and wily men, following your counsel (as I suppose) because they saw men evil willing to frame their manners to Christ's rule, they have wrested and wried his doctrine, and like a rule of lead have applied it to men's manners: that by some means at the least way they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done but that men may more securely be evil. And I truly should prevail even as much in kings' councils. For either I must say otherwise than they say, and then I were as good to say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say, and (as Mitio sayeth in Terence⁴) help to further their madness. For that crafty wile and subtle train of yours, I cannot perceive to what purpose it serveth; wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour myself, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and

¹ Runne (ed. 2).

² Lat. *dissimulemus*: ignore, pretend not to know of.

³ Luke xii, 3: on the housetops.

⁴ *Adelphi*, i, 2, 66.

WISE MEN KEEP TO THEMSELVES

handsomely for the purpose; that as far forth as is possible, they may not be very evil. For there¹ is no place to dissemble in nor to wink in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed, and very pestilent decrees must be approved. He shall be counted worse than a spy, yea, almost as evil as a traitor, that with a faint heart doth praise evil and noisome decrees. Moreover a man can have no occasion to do good, chancing into the company of them, which will sooner make naught a good man than be made good themselves: through whose evil company he shall be marred, or else, if he remain good and innocent, yet the wickedness and foolishness of others shall be imputed to him and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile and subtle train to turn anything to better.

“Wherefore Plato,² by a goodly similitude, declareth why wise men refrain to meddle in the commonwealth. For when they see the people swarm into the streets, and daily wet to the skin with rain, and yet cannot persuade them to go out of the rain and to take their houses; knowing well that if they should go out to them, they should nothing prevail, nor win aught by it, but be wet also in the rain, they do keep themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people. Howbeit doubtless, Master More (to speak truly as my mind giveth me) wheresoever possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal publique may justly be governed and prosperously flourish, unless you think thus: that

¹ In kings' councils.

² *Republic*, vi, 496.

UTOPIAN COMMUNISM

justice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of evil men; or that prosperity there flourisheth, where all is divided among a few; which few nevertheless do not lead their lives very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly, and beggarly.

“Wherefore when I consider with myself and weigh in my mind the wise and godly ordinances of the Utopians, among whom with very few laws all things be so well and wealthily ordered, that virtue is had in price and estimation, and yet, all things being there common, every man hath abundance of everything: again, on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new laws, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with laws; where every man calleth that he hath gotten his own proper and private goods; where so many new laws daily made be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another man’s that which he calleth his own; which thing the infinite controversies in the law, that daily rise never to be ended, plainly declare to be true: these things (I say) when I consider with myself, I hold well with Plato,¹ and do nothing marvel that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws, whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities. For the wise man did easily foresee that this is the one and only way to the wealth of a commonalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and established, which I think is not possible to be observed, where

¹ The story is in Diogenes Laërtius, iii, 17: The Arcadians and Thebans, after building a great city, asked him to be its legislator; on learning that they would not consent to an equality of rights, he declined to go there.

PROPERTY CAUSES POVERTY

every man's goods be proper and peculiar to himself. For where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himself as much as he can, and so a few divide among themselves all the riches that there is, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lack and poverty. And for the most part it chanceth that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth, than the other be, because the rich man be covetous, crafty, and unprofitable: on the other part, the poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour more profitable to the commonwealth than to themselves.

“ Thus I do fully persuade myself, that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this property be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men the heavy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchedness. Which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possess above a certain measure of ground, and that no man should have in his stock above a prescript and appointed sum of money; if it were by certain laws decreed that neither the king should be of too great power, neither the people too proud and wealthy: and that offices should not be obtained by inordinate suit or by bribes and gifts; that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices; for so occasion is given to the officers by fraud and ravine

MORE AGAINST COMMUNISM

to gather up their money again; and by reason of gifts and bribes the offices be given to rich men, which should rather have been executed of wise men; by such laws, I say, like as sick bodies that be desperate and past cure be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept up, so these evils also might be lightened and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured and brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for, while every man is master of his own to himself. Yea, and while you go about to do your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part: so the help of one causeth another's harm, forasmuch as nothing can be given to any man, unless that be taken from another."

"But I am of a contrary opinion," (quoth I), "for methinketh that men shall never there live wealthily, where all things be common. For how can there be abundance of goods, or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour, whom the regard of his own gains driveth not to work, and the hope that he hath in other men's travail maketh him slothful? Then when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his own, which he hath gotten with the labour of his own hands, shall not there of necessity be continual sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverence of magistrates being taken away—which what place it may have with such men, among whom is no difference, I cannot devise." "I marvel not" (quoth he) "that you be of this opinion. For you conceive in your mind either none at all, or else a very false image and similitude of this thing. But if you had been with me in Utopia, and had pre-

GILES'S INCREDULITY

sently seen their fashions and laws, as I did, which lived there five years and more, and would never have come thence, but only to make that new land known here: then doubtless you would grant that you never saw people well ordered, but only there."

"Surely," (quoth Master Peter), "it shall be hard for you to make me believe that there is better order in the new land than is here in these countries that we know. For good wits be as well here as there; and I think our commonwealths be ancients than theirs, wherein long use and experience hath found out many things commodious for man's life, besides that many things here among us have been found by chance which no wit could ever have devised."

"As touching the ancientness" (quoth he) "of commonwealths, then you might better judge if you had read the histories and chronicles of that land, which if we may believe, cities were there, before there were men here. Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath been devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as here. But I think verily, though it were so that we did pass them in wit, yet in study and laboursome endeavour they far pass us. For (as their chronicles testify) before our arrival there they never heard anything of us, whom they call the Ultra-equinoctials: saving that once, about twelve hundred years ago, a certain ship was lost by the isle of Utopia which was driven thither by tempest. Certain Romans and Egyptians were cast on land, which after that never went thence. Mark now what profit they took of this one occasion, through diligence and earnest travail. There was no craft



nor science within the empire of Rome, whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers, or else, of them taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their own whatsoever is among us wealthily devised, so I suppose it would be long before we would receive anything that among them is better instituted than among us. And this I suppose is the chief cause why their commonwealths be wisely governed, and do flourish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wit nor in riches be their inferiors."

"Therefore, gentle Master Raphael", (quoth I), "I pray you and beseech you describe unto us the island. And study not to be short, but declare largely

RAPHAEL BEGINS HIS STORY

in order their grounds, their rivers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinances, their laws, and, to be short, all things that you shall think us desirous to know. And you shall think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet." "There is nothing" (quoth he) "that I will do gladlier, for all these things I have fresh in mind; but the matter requireth leisure." "Let us go in, therefore", (quoth I), "to dinner; afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure." "Content" (quoth he) "be it."¹ So we went in and dined.

When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sat us down upon the same bench, commanding our servants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master Peter Giles desired Master Raphael to perform his promise. He, therefore, seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, thus he began to speak.

¹ Agreed, so be it (*Lat. fiat*).

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK



THE SECOND BOOK
OF THE COMMUNICATION OF
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY

CONCERNING the best state of a Common Wealthe: containing the description of Utopia, with a large declaration of the godly government, and of all the good laws and orders of the same Island.

THE island of Utopia containeth in breadth in the middle part of it (for there it is broadest) two hundred miles. Which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little and little it cometh in and waxeth narrower towards both the ends: which fetching about a circuit or compass of five hundred miles, do fashion the whole island like to the new moon. Between these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the distance of eleven miles or thereabouts, and there surmounteth into a large and wide sea which,



DESCRIPTION OF UTOPIA

by reason that the land of every side compasseth it about and sheltereth it from the winds, is not rough nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly, not much unlike a great standing pool, and maketh almost all the space within the belly of the land in manner of a haven ; and, to the great commodity of the inhabitants, receiveth in ships towards every part of the land. The forefronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with fords and shelves, and what with rocks, be very jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both standeth up above the water a great rock, which therefore is nothing perilous, because it is in sight. Upon the top of this rock is a fair and a strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rocks there be, that lie hid under the water, and therefore be dangerous. The channels be known only to themselves : and therefore it seldom chanceth that any stranger, unless he be guided by an Utopian, can come into this haven, insomuch that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certain landmarks standing on the shore. By turning, translating, and removing these marks into other places, they may destroy their enemies' navies, be they never so many. The out side¹ of the land is also full of havens ; but the landing is so surely defenced, what by nature and what by workmanship of man's hand, that a few defenders may drive back many armies.

Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly shew, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But king Utopus,

¹ "Or utter (outer) circuit" (added in ed. 2).

HOW IT BECAME AN ISLAND

whose name as conqueror the island beareth (for before that time it was called Abraxa),¹ which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection, in all good fashions, humanity, and civil gentleness, wherein they now go beyond all the people of the world; even at his first arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteen miles space of uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up, and so brought the sea round about the land. He set to this work not only the inhabitants of the island (because they should not think it done in contumely and despite), but also all his own soldiers. Thus the work, being divided into so great a number of workmen, was with exceeding marvellous speed dispatched, in-somuch that the borderers, which at first began to mock and to jest at this vain enterprise, then turned their derision to marvel at the success, and to fear.

There be in the island fifty-four large and fair cities or shire towns, agreeing altogether in one tongue, in like manners, institutions, and laws. They be all set and situate alike, as far forth as the place or plot suffereth. Of these cities they that be nighest together be twenty-four miles asunder. Again, there is none of them distant from the next above one day's journey afoot.

There come yearly to Amaurote² out of every city three old men wise and well experienced, there to entreat and debate of the common matters of the land. For this city (because it standeth just in the midst of the island, and is therefore

¹ A name, it seems, with Gnostic associations.

² Gk. *ἀμαυρός*, dark, obscure.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

most meet for the ambassadors of all parts of the realm) is taken for the chief and head city. The precincts and bounds of the shires be so commodiously appointed out and set forth for the cities, that never a one of them all hath of any side less than twenty miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distance asunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires. For they count themselves rather the good husbands than the owners of their lands.

They have in the country in all parts of the shire houses or farms builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tools belonging to husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No household or farm in the country hath fewer than forty persons, men and women, beside two bondmen, which be all under the rule and order of the goodman and the goodwife of the house, being both very sage and discreet persons. And every thirty farms or families have one head ruler, which is called a phylarch,¹ being as it were a head bailiff. Out of every one of these families or farms cometh every year into the city twenty persons which have continued two years before in the country. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the city, which of them that have been there a year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught; and they the next year shall teach others. This order is used, for fear that either scarceness of victuals or some other like incommodity should chance through lack of knowledge, if they should

¹ Gk. *φύλαρχος*, head of a clan.

POULTRY AND CATTLE

be altogether new and fresh and unexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though it be solemn and customably used, to the intent that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life, yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry, that they obtain a longer space of years. These husbandmen plough and till the ground, and breed up cattle, and make ready wood, which they carry to the city, either by land or by water, as they may most conveniently. They bring up a great multitude of pullen and that by a marvellous policy. For the hens do not sit upon the eggs, but by keeping them in a certain equal heat they bring life into them and hatch them. The chickens, as soon as they be come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens.

They bring up very few horses, nor none but very fierce ones;¹ and that for none other use or purpose, but only to exercise their youth in riding and feats of arms. For oxen be put to all the labour of ploughing and drawing. Which they grant to be not so good as horses at sudden brunt, and (as we say) at a dead lift;² but yet they hold opinion, that oxen will abide and suffer much more labour and pain than horses will. And they think that they be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much less cost and charge; and finally, that they be good for meat when they be past labour.

¹ Lat. *ferocientes*: "spirited," rather.

² When put to draw a weight which they cannot move.

FOOD, DRINK AND HARVESTING

They sow corn only for bread. For their drink is either wine made of grapes, or else of apples or pears, or else it is clear water; and many times mead made of honey or liquorice sodden in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the city with the whole country or shires round about it doth spend; yet they sow much more corn, and breed up much more cattle, than serveth for their own use; and the overplus they part among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the country, all such stuffs they fetch out of the city, where without any exchange they easily obtain it of the magistrates of the city. For every month many of them go into the city on the holiday. When their harvest day draweth near and is at hand, then the phylarchs, which be the head officers and bailiffs of husbandry, send word to the magistrates of the city what number of harvest men is needful to be sent to them out of the city. The which company of harvest men, being there ready at the day appointed, almost in one fair day dispatcheth all the harvest work.

OF THE CITIES, AND NAMELY OF AMAUROTE

As for their cities, he that knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another, as far forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe, therefore, to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which; but which rather than Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignity. For the residue knowledge it for the head city, because

ALL CITIES ALIKE

there is the council-house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole years together.

The city of Amarote standeth upon the side of a low hill, in fashion almost four-square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles until it comes to the river of Anyder.¹ The length of it, which lieth by the river's side, is somewhat more.

The river of Anyder riseth twenty-four miles² above Amarote out of a little spring. But being increased by other small floods and brooks that run into it, and among other two somewhat big ones, before the city it is half a mile broad, and farther broader; and sixty miles beyond the city it falleth into the ocean sea. By all that space that lieth between the sea and the city and a good sort of miles also above the city, the water ebbeth and floweth six hours together with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in for the length of thirty miles, it filleth all the Anyder with salt water, and driveth back the fresh water of the river. And somewhat further it changeth the sweetness of the fresh water with saltness. But a little beyond that, the river waxeth sweet, and runneth forby the city fresh and pleasant. And when the sea ebbeth and goeth back again, the fresh water followeth it almost even to the very fall into the sea.

There goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stone-work, with gorgeous and substantial arches at that part of the city that is farthest from the sea, to the intent

¹ Gk. *ἀνυδρος*, waterless.

² Eighty in the Latin.

THE CHIEF TOWN AND RIVER

that ships may go along forby all the side of the city without let. They have also another river, which indeed is not very great; but it runneth gently and pleasantly. For it riseth even out of the same hill that the city standeth upon, and runneth down a slope through the midst of the city into Anyder. And because it riseth a little without the city, the Amaurotians have enclosed the headspring of it with strong fences and bulwarks, and so have joined it to the city. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and brought down in channels of brick divers ways into the lower parts of the city. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the rain-water in great cisterns, which doeth them as good service.

The city is compassed about with a high and thick wall, full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but deep and broad, and overgrown with bushes, briars, and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river itself serveth for a ditch. The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage and also against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and in the street side they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street, without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty foot broad. On the back-side of the houses, through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens, which be closed in round about with the back part of the streets. Every house

HOUSES AND GARDENS

hath two doors ; one into the street, and a postern door on the back-side into the garden. These doors be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easy to be opened that they will follow the least drawing of a finger and shut again by themselves. Every man that will may go in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any man's own. And every ten year they change their houses by lot.

They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitful nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein cometh not only of pleasure, but also of a certain strife and contention that is between street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens, every man for his own part. And verily you shall not lightly find in all the city anything that is more commodious, either for the profit of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it may seem that the first founder of the city minded nothing so much as he did these gardens.

For they say that king Utopus himself, even at the first beginning, appointed and drew forth the platform of the city into this fashion and figure that it hath now ; but the gallant garnishing and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one man's age would not suffice, that he left to his posterity. For their chronicles which they keep written with all diligent circumspection, containing the history of 1760 years, even from the first conquest of the island, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were

BUILDING IMPROVEMENTS

very low, and like homely cottages, or poor shepherds' houses, made at all adventures of every rude piece of wood that came first to hand, with mud walls, and ridged roofs thatched over with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded, after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three storeys one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint or of plaster, or else of brick, and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber work.¹ The roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain kind of plaster, that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used; and somewhere also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber,² and that for two commodities. For by this means more light cometh in, and the wind is better kept out.

OF THE MAGISTRATES

Every thirty families or farms choose them yearly an officer, which in their own language is called the syphogrant³ and by a newer name the phylarch. Every ten syphogrants, with all their three hundred⁴ families, be under an officer which was once called the tranibore,⁵ now the chief phylarch.

Moreover as concerning the election of the prince, all the syphogrants, which be in number two hundred, first be sworn to choose him whom

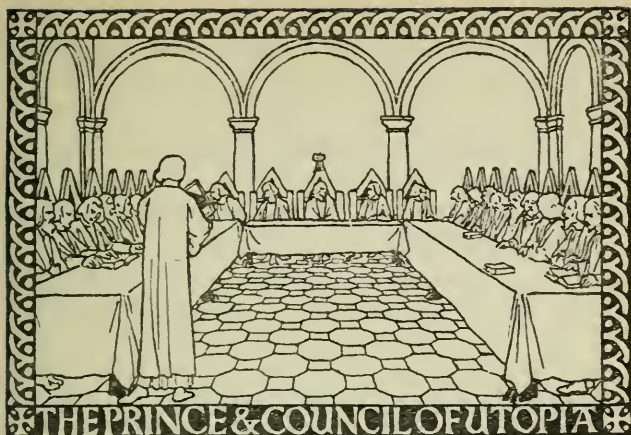
¹ Lat. *rudere*, with rubbish.

³ 'The Elders of the Sty'.

⁴ Thirty (ed. 2).

² Cp. *New Atlantis* (p. 206).

⁵ 'Bencher'.



they think most meet and expedient. Then by a secret election they name prince one of those four whom the people before named unto them. For out of the four quarters of the city there be four chosen, out of every quarter one, to stand for the election, which be put up to the council. The prince's office continueth all his lifetime, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny. They choose the tranibores yearly, but lightly they change them not. All the other offices be but for one year. The tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftener, come into the council-house with the prince. Their counsel is concerning the commonwealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take ever two syphogrants to them in council and every day a new couple. And it is provided that nothing touching the commonwealth shall be confirmed and ratified, unless it have been reasoned of and debated three

PHYLARCHS, TRANIBORES, PRINCE

days in the council, before it be decreed. It is death to have any consultation for the commonwealth out of the council, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent, that the prince and tranibores might not easily conspire together to oppress the people by tyranny, and to change the state of the weal publique. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the election house of the syphogrants, which open the matter to their families; and afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, they shew their device to the council. Sometimes the matter is brought before the council of the whole island.

Furthermore this custom also the council useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to defer it to the next sitting of the council.¹ Because that no man when he hath rashly there spoken that cometh first to his tongue's end, shall then afterward study for reasons wherewith to defend and confirm his first foolish sentence, than for the commodity of the commonwealth; as one rather willing the harm or hindrance of the weal publique than any loss or diminution of his own estimation; and as one that would not for shame (which is a very foolish shame) be counted anything overseen² in the matter at the first, who at the first ought to have spoken rather wisely than hastily or rashly.

¹ Lat. *frequentem*, crowded; which suggests a further reason for the custom.

² *i.e.* who would be ashamed to be thought mistaken.

DIFFERENT HANDICRAFTS

OF SCIENCES, CRAFTS, AND OCCUPATIONS

Husbandry is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth; partly in schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also.

Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's, between the married and the unmarried), and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say), every family maketh their own. But of the other fore-said crafts every man learneth one; and not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts. They work wool and flax. The other more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft, for most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that

DIVISIONS OF THE DAY

occupation which he doth most fancy, whom not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will, unless the city hath more need of the one than of the other.

The chief and almost the only office of the syphogrants is to see and take heed that no man sit idle, but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence ; and yet for all that not to be wearied from early in the morning to late in the evening with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts. For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen ; which nevertheless is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they, dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of those hours to work, three before noon, upon which they go straight to dinner : and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three : and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon) they go to bed ; eight hours they give to sleep. All the void time, that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself: not to the intent they should misspend this time in riot, or slothfulness, but, being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftily upon some other good science, as shall please them.

LECTURES AND AMUSEMENTS

For it is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures: some one and some another, as every man's nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation (as it chanceth in many, whose minds rise not in¹ the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not letted or prohibited, but is also praised and commended as profitable to the commonwealth.

After supper they bestow one hour in play: in summer in their gardens, in winter in their common halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-play, and such other foolish and pernicious games, they know not, but they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly shewed both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues: and also what vices be repugnant to what virtues; with what power and strength they assail them openly; by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly, with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices; by what craft they frustrate their purposes; and finally by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory.

¹ Mod. rise *to*, in the sense of being equal to.

SIX HOURS WORKING-DAY

But here, lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough, but also too much, for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all women, which be the half of the whole number, or else if the women be anywhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle.¹ Besides this, how great, and how idle a company is there of priests and religious men, as they call them? Put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout, bragging rushbucklers.² Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these things be gotten that men use and live by. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing,³ there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used, to serve only for riotous superfluity and dishonest pleasure.

¹ Lat. *stertunt*, are snoring.

² Lat. *cetratorum nebulonum colluviem* a rabble of shield-bearing ruffians.

³ Exercises all the power or sway; lit. where we measure all things by money.

ALL UTOPIANS WORK

For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth, in so great plenty of things, as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour than two of the workmen themselves do ; if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea, and too much, to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity, or for commodity ; yea, or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural.

And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there in all the city, with the whole country or shire adjoining to it, scarcely five hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old nor too weak to work, be licensed from labour. Among them be the syphogrants (which though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour), yet they exempt not themselves; to the intent they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy, to whom the people, persuaded by the commendation of the priests and secret election of the syphogrants, have given a perpetual licence from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrari-

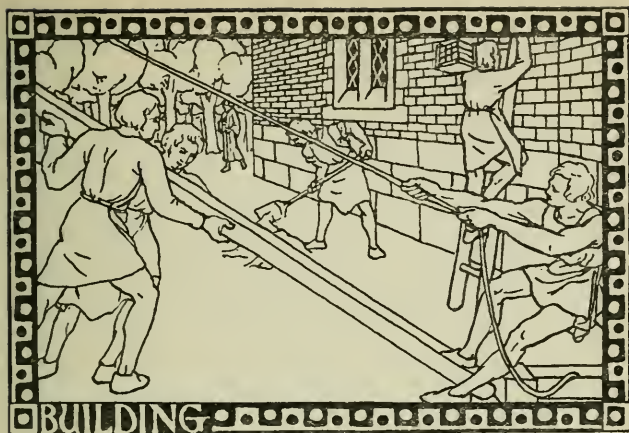
UTOPIA'S LEARNED MEN

wise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profit therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation¹ and promoted to the company of the learned.

Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself; whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus.² The residue of the people being neither idle, neither occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work as other nations do. For first of all, the building or repairing of houses asketh everywhere so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea, many times also the house that stood one man in much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, and therefore falling shortly into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things be set in a good order and the commonwealth in a good stay, it very seldom chanceth that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And

¹ From manual labour.

² Lat. *Adēmus*, without a people (Gk. ἀδῆμος).



they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults, but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations, insomuch that that kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do; but that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that if any work chance, it may the more speedily rise.

Now, Sir, in their apparel, mark, I pray you, how few workmen they need. First of all, whiles they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins that will last seven years. When they go forth abroad, they cast upon them a cloak which hideth the other homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less

HOUSES AND CLOTHING

cost. But linen cloth is made with less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woollen only cleanliness, is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is no thing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places four or five cloth¹ gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats, be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the delicate and nice sort, ten be too few, whereas their one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more? seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier.

Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient, this is the cause that, plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why? in the institution of that weal publique this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

¹ Lat. *laneae*, woollen.

UTOPIAN FAMILIES

OF THEIR LIVING AND MUTUAL CON- VERSATION TOGETHER

But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another; what familiar occupying and entertainment¹ there is among the people; and what fashion they use in the distribution of everything. First, the city consisteth of families; the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women, when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands' houses. But the male children, with all the whole male offspring, continue still in their own family and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote for age; for then the next to him in age is put in his room.

But to the intent the prescribed number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family, which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout than ten, or more than sixteen, for of children under this age no number can be appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land²

¹ Lat. *commercia*, intercourse.

² The neighbouring continent (Burnet) or mainland.

SURPLUS POPULATION

where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the inhabitants to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They, thus joining and dwelling together, do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground, which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them, to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds, which they have limited and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be filled up again without the diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land through a great pestilent plague), then they make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns; for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish than any city of their own island to be diminished.

But now again to the conversation¹ of the citizens among themselves. The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their

¹ Lat. *convictum*, living together.

CITY QUARTERS AND MARKETS

husbands, the children to their parents, and, to be short, the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts. In the midst of every quarter there is a market-place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought in to certain houses. And every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or store-houses. From hence the father of every family or every householder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage or pledge. For why should anything be denied unto him, seeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared lest any man will ask more than he needeth? For why should it be thought that man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly, in all kinds of living creatures, either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravine, or in man only pride, which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place.

Next to the market-places that I spake of stand meat-markets,¹ whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and ordure thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city, in places appointed, meet for the same purpose; from thence the beasts² brought in killed, and clean

¹ Markets . . . for all sorts of victuals (Burnet), meat being used for food generally.

² Ed. 2 inserts "be."

HALLS AND HOSPITALS

washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts ; through the use whereof they think that clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, doth by little and little decay and perish. Neither they suffer anything that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air, by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases.

Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, of either side fifteen.¹ The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat-markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls.

But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals ; so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little towns ; which were devised of that bigness, partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously ; and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished ; and moreover so diligent

¹ In these they do all meet and eat (Burnet). Omitted in R.

MEALS IN THE HALLS

attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city, that had not rather lie there than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, the tranibores, and to ambassadors, and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also, when they be there, have certain houses appointed and prepared for them.

To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet ; except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house ; for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly, because it is counted a point of small honesty.¹ And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all slavery and drudgery, with all laboursome toil and business, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery, for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all

¹ Somewhat discreditable.

ARRANGEMENT OF SEATS

things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table; that if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery.

The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles; that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing-clothes and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it do proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of pity is much praised; and the child that is nourished ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner-time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sitteth in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the most honour-

NURSES AND CHILDREN

able place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest; for at every table they sit four at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogranty or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogrant, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men. And thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixt with unequal ages. This they say was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the youngers from wanton licence of words and behaviour; forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties, as they think best, to the younger that sit of both sides them.¹ Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one.

They begin every dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor un-

¹ The Latin has in parenthesis (*quarum non tanta erat copia ut posset totam per domum affatim distribui*, of which there was not enough to go round).

OLD AND YOUNG SIT TOGETHER

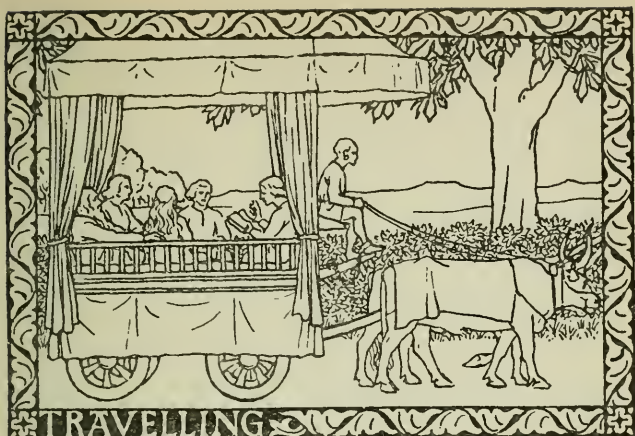
pleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks, but they gladly hear also the young men ; yea, and do purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit and towardness or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth shew and utter itself. Their dinners be very short, but their suppers be somewhat longer ; because that after dinner followeth labour ; after supper sleep and natural rest ; which they think to be of no¹ more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music ; nor their banquets lack no conceits nor junkets.² They burn sweet gums and spices for perfumes and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters ; yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheering of the company. For they be much inclined to this opinion : to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm.

Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city ; but in the country they that dwell alone, far from any neighbours, do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.³

¹ Omitted in ed. 2 (not in the Latin).

² Nor do their desserts ever lack dainties. (Lat. *nec ullis caret secunda mensa bellariis*).

³ Those in the country supply the city dwellers with food.



OF THEIR JOURNEYING OR TRAVELLING ABROAD
[WITH DIVERS OTHER MATTERS CUNNINGLY
REASONED AND WITTILY DISCUSSED, R.]

But if any be desirous to visit either their friends that dwell in another city, or to see the place itself, they easily obtain licence of their syphogrants and tranibores, unless there be some profitable let.¹ No man goeth out alone; but a company is sent forth together with their prince's letters, which do testify that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return. They have a waggon given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen and taketh charge of them. But unless they have women in their company, they send home the waggon again, as an impediment and a let. And though they carry forth nothing with them, yet in all their journey they lack nothing; for wheresoever they come

¹ Some reason that makes it necessary or advisable to refuse the licence: "when there is no particular occasion for him at home" (Burnet).

WORK FOR THEIR FOOD

they be at home. If they tarry in a place longer than one day, then there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workmen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his own head and without leave walk out of his precinct and bounds, taken without the prince's letters, he is brought again for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault again, he is punished with bondage.

If any be desirous to walk abroad into the fields, or into the country that belongeth to the same city that he dwelleth in, obtaining the good will of his father and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the country soever he cometh, he hath no meat given him until he have wrought out his forenoon's task, or dispatched so much work as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whither he will within the bounds of his own city. For he shall be no less profitable to the city than if he were within it.

Now you see how little liberty they have to loiter; how they can have no cloak or pretence to idleness. There be neither wine-taverns, nor ale-houses, nor stews, nor any occasion of vice or wickedness, no lurking corners, no places of wicked councils or unlawful assemblies, but they be in the present sight and under the eyes of every man; so that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion being used among the people, they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners

UTOPIA ONE HOUSEHOLD

equally, therefore can no man there be poor or needy. In the council of Amaurote (whither, as I said, every city sendeth three men apiece yearly), as soon as it is perfectly known of what things there is in every place plenty, and again what things be scant in any place; incontinent the lack of the one is performed and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do freely without any benefit, taking nothing again of them to whom the things is given; but those cities that have given of their store to any other city that lacketh, requiring nothing again of the same city, do take such things as they lack of another city, to whom they give nothing. So the whole island is, as it were, one family or household.

But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they think not done until they have provided for two years following, because of the uncertainty of the next year's proof), then of those things whereof they have abundance they carry forth into other countries great plenty; as grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple dye, fells, wax, tallow, leather, and living beasts. And the seventh part of all these things they give frankly and freely to the poor of that country. The residue they sell at a reasonable and mean price. By this trade of traffic or merchandise, they bring into their own country not only great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lack at home, which is almost nothing but iron. And by reason they have long used this trade, now they have more abundance of these things than any man will believe. Now, therefore, they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else upon trust to be

HOW MONEY IS EMPLOYED

paid at a day, and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men, but the assurance or warrantise of the whole city, by instruments and writings made in that behalf accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the city gathereth up the debt of the private debtors, and putteth it into the common box and so long hath the use and profit of it, until the Utopians their creditors demand it. The most part of it they never ask. For that thing which is to them no profit, to take it from other to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conscience.¹ But if the case so stand, that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt; or when they have war. For the which purpose only they keep at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreme jeopardies, or in sudden dangers; but especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange soldiers. For they had rather put strangers in jeopardy than their own countrymen; knowing that for money enough their enemies themselves many times may be bought and sold, or else through treason be set together by the ears among themselves. For this cause they keep an inestimable treasure; but yet not as a treasure; but so they have it and use it as in good faith I am ashamed to shew, fearing that my words shall not be believed. And this I have more cause to fear, for that I know how difficultly and hardly I myself would have believed another man telling the same, if I had not presently seen it with mine own eyes. For it must

¹ Consider it unfair.

GOLD, SILVER AND IRON

needs be that, how far a thing is dissonant and disagreeing from the guise and trade¹ of the hearers, so far shall it be out of their belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things will not greatly marvel, perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them be applied rather to their own fashions than to ours. I mean, in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that chance; which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass.

In the meantime gold and silver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doth more esteem it, than the very nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doth not plainly see how far it is under iron? as without the which men can no better live than without fire and water; whereas to gold and silver nature hath given no use that we may not well lack, if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature, as a most tender and loving mother, hath placed the best and most necessary things open abroad, as the air, the water, and the earth itself; and hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable things. Therefore if these metals among them should be fast locked up in some tower, it might be suspected that the prince and the council (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtlety to deceive the commons and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore, if they should make thereof plate and such other finely and cunningly wrought stuff; if at any time

¹ Lat. *moribus*, manners and customs.

GOLD A SIGN OF DISGRACE

they should have occasion to break it and melt it again, and therewith to pay their soldiers' wages, they see and perceive very well that men would be loth to part from those things that they once began to have pleasure and delight in.

To remedy all this, they have found out a means, which as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant ; and therefore incredible, but only to them that be wise.¹ For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value, of gold and silver they make commonly chamber-pots and other like vessels that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls, but in every man's private house. Furthermore, of the same metals they make great chains with fetters and gyves, wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally, whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold ; upon their fingers they wear rings of gold, and about their necks chains of gold ; and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus by all means that may be, they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And therefore these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forgo, as in a manner from² their own lives : if they should altogether at once be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

They gather also pearls by the seaside, and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks ; and

¹ Lat. *peritis*, who know about it from personal experience.

² "From" is omitted in ed. 2.

THE ANEMOLIAN AMBASSADORS

yet they seek not for them, but by chance finding them they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young infants. Which, like as in the first years of their childhood they make much and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles, they lay them away even of their own shamefastness, without any bidding of their parents: even as our children, when they wax big, do cast away nuts, brooches, and puppets. Therefore these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fancies also and minds they do cause, did I never so plainly perceive, as in the ambassadors of the Anemolians.¹

These ambassadors came to Amaurote while I was there. And because they came to intreat of great and weighty matters, those three citizens apiece out of every city were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the next countries, which had been there before, and knew the fashions and manners of the Utopians, among whom they perceived no honour given to sumptuous and costly apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple apparel. But the Anemolians, because they dwell far thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the things which they did not wear, being therefore more proud than wise, determined in the gorgeousness of their apparel

¹ Gk. *ἀνεμώλιος*, windy, windbags.

THEIR GORGEOUS APPAREL

to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistening of their gay clothing to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor Utopians. So there came in three ambassadors with a hundred servants all apparelled in changeable colours, the most of them in silks; the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings upon their fingers, with brooches and aiglettes of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones; to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withal. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their peacock feathers; how much they made of their painted sheaths; and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets. And on the other side it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how far they missed of their purpose; being contrary ways taken than they thought they should have been. For to the eyes of all the Utopians except very few, which had been in other countries for some reasonable cause, all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful; insomuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords; passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honour, judging them, by their wear-

ABANDON THEIR FINERY

ing of golden chains, to be bondmen. Yea, you should have seen children also that had cast away their pearls and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them : " Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child still." But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest : " Peace, son," saith she, ' I think he be some of the ambassador's fools.' Some found fault at their golden chains, as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weak, that a bondman might easily break them ; and again so wide and large, that, when it pleased him, he might cast them off, and run away at liberty whither he would.

But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two, and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea, in no less reproach than it was with them in honour ; and, besides that, more gold in the chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman, than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth ; they began to abate their courage,¹ and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array whereof they were so proud ; and specially when they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions. For they marvel that any men be so foolish as to have delight and pleasure in the glistering of a little trifling stone, which may behold any of the stars, or else the sun itself ; or that any man is so mad as to count himself the nobler for the smaller or finer thread of wool, which selfsame wool (be it now in never so fine a

¹ Lat. *subsidentibus pennis*, their plumes fell (Burnet).

CONVERTED BY UTOPIANS

spun thread) did once a sheep wear, and yet was she all that time no other thing than a sheep.

They marvel also that gold, which of the¹ own nature is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation, that man himself, by whom, yea, and for the use of whom, it is so much set by, is in much less estimation than the gold itself. Insomuch that a lumpish block-headed churl, and which hath no more wit than an ass, yea, and as full of naughtiness and foolishness, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage, only for this, because he hath a great heap of gold. Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subtle wile of the law (which no less than fortune doth both raise up the low, and pluck down the high), and be given to the most vile slave and abject drevell of all his household, then shortly after he shall go into the service of his servant, as an augmentation or an overplus, beside his money. But they much more marvel at and detest the madness of them, which to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, do give almost divine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich; and yet knowing them to be such niggish penny-fathers,² they be sure, as long as they live, not the worth of one farthing of that heap of gold shall come to them.

These and such like opinions have they conceived, partly by education, being brought up in that commonwealth, whose laws and customs be far different from these kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though

¹ We should say "its."

² Miserly skinflints.

UTOPIAN LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

there be not many in every city, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours and appointed only to learning; that is to say, such in whom even from their very childhood they have perceived a singular towardness, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning; yet all in their childhood be instructed in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women, throughout all their whole life, do bestow in learning those spare hours, which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native tongue. For it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the ear, and for the utterance of a man's mind very perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world useth the same language; saving that among the Utopians it is finest and purest, and according to the diversity of the countries it is diversely altered.

Of all these philosophers, whose names be here famous in this part of the world to us known, before our coming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them; and yet in Music, Logic, Arithmetic, and Geometry, they have found out in a manner all that our ancient philosophers have taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old ancient clerks, so our new logicians in subtle inventions have far passed and gone beyond them. For they have not devised one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications, and suppositions, very wittily invented in the "Small Logicals,"¹ which here our children in every place do learn. Furthermore,

¹ The *Parva Logicalia* or last part of the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus (Pope John XXI, d. 1277), a famous medieval text-book: e Pietro Ispano, Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli (Dante, *Par.*, xii, 134).

UTOPIAN SCIENCE AND ART

they were never yet able to find out the second intentions ;¹ insomuch that none of them all could ever see man himself in common,² as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger than ever was any giant, yea, and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the course of the stars, and the movings of the heavenly spheres, very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers fashions, wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars which appear in their horizon. But as for the amities³ and dissensions of the planets, and all that deceitful divination by the stars, they never as much as dream thereof. Rains, winds, and other courses of tempests, they know before by certain tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things, and of the ebbing, flowing, and saltness of the sea, and finally of the original beginning and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old philosophers hold ; and partly, as our philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they do not accord.

In that part of philosophy which intreateth of manners and virtue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soul, of the body, and of fortune ; and

¹ Intentions, abstract ideas to which the mind directs itself (*intendit se*). The second intentions are the relations of these abstract ideas to one another, here used as an example of subtlety.

² In the abstract.

³ Favourable conjunctions.

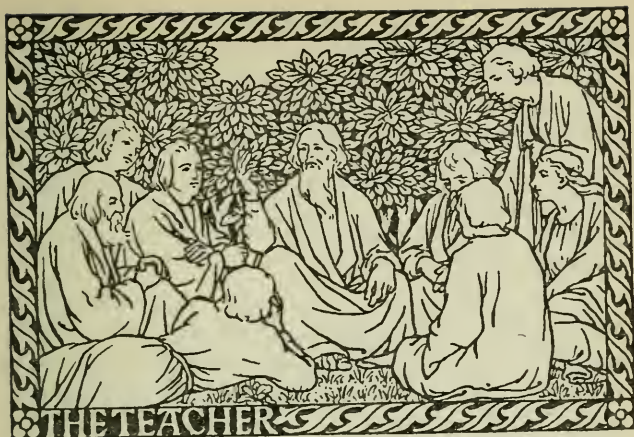
whether the name of goodness may be applied to all these, or only to the endowments and gifts of the soul. They reason of virtue and pleasure. But the chief and principal question is in what thing, be it one or more, the felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of them which defend pleasure; wherein they determine either all or the chiefest part of man's felicity to rest. And (which is more to be marvelled at) the defence of this so dainty and delicate an opinion they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessedness, but they join unto the reasons of philosophy certain principles taken out of religion; without the which, to the investigation of true felicity, they think reason of itself weak and unperfect. Those principles be these, and such like: that the soul is immortal, and by the bountiful goodness of God ordained to felicity; that to our virtues and good deeds rewards be appointed after this life, and to our evil deeds punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by proofs of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disannulled, then without any delay they pronounce no man to be so foolish, which would not do all his diligence and endeavour to obtain pleasure by right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger; or that¹ he laboured not for that pleasure which would bring after it displeasure, grief, and sorrow. For they judge it extreme madness to follow sharp

¹ And provided that.

DEFINITION OF VIRTUE

and painful virtue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grief without any hope of profit thereof. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say, wretchedly, shall have no reward after his death? But now, sir, they think not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest; and that hereto, as to perfect blessedness, our nature is allured and drawn even of virtue; whereto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity. For they define virtue to be a life ordered according to nature; and we be hereunto ordained of God; and that he doth follow the course of nature, which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore, that reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love and veneration of the divine Majesty; of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity. And that, secondarily, it moveth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth, and to help all other, in respect of the society of nature, to obtain the same. For there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of virtue and hater of pleasure, that would so enjoin you labours, watchings, and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease and lighten to your power¹ the lack and misery of others, praising the same as a deed of humanity and pity. Then if it be a point of humanity for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a virtue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by taking from

¹ To the best of your ability.



them the sorrow and heaviness of life to restore them to joy, that is to say, to pleasure ; why may it not then be said that nature doth provoke every man to do the same to himself?

For a joyful life, that is to say, a pleasant life is either evil ; and if it be so, then thou shouldest not only help no man thereto, but rather, as much as in thee lieth, help all men from it, as noisome and hurtful ; or else, if thou not only mayest, but also of duty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to thy self, to whom thou art bound to shew as much favour as to other? For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very nature (say they) prescribeth to us a joyful life, that is to say, pleasure, as the end of all our operations. And they define virtue to be life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that that nature doth allure and provoke men one to help another to live merrily (which surely she doth not

RESPECT FOR THE LAW

without a good cause; for no man is so far above the lot of man's state or condition, that nature doth cark and care for him only, which equally favoureth all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape, form, and fashion), verily she commandeth thee to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seek for thine own commodities, that thou procure others incommunities.

Wherefore their opinion is, that not only covenants and bargains made among private men ought to be well and faithfully fulfilled, observed, and kept, but also common laws; which either a good prince hath justly published, or else the people, neither oppressed with tyranny, neither deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerning the partition of the commodities of life,—that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These laws not offended, it is wisdom that thou look to thine own wealth. And to do the same for the commonwealth is no less than thy duty, if thou bearest any reverent love or any natural zeal and affection to thy native country.¹ But to go about to let another man of his pleasure, whilst thou procurest thine own, that is open wrong. Contrary wise, to withdraw something from thyself to give to other, that is a point of humanity and gentleness; which never taketh away so much commodity, as it bringeth again. For it is recompensed with the return of benefits; and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankful love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind,

¹ If thou . . . country. Not in the Latin.

DEFINITION OF PLEASURE

than that which thou hast withholden from thyself could have brought to the body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy. Therefore, the matter diligently weighed and considered, thus they think: that all our actions, and in them the virtues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicity.

Pleasure they call every motion and state of the body or mind, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they join to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as not only the senses, but also right reason, coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant; so that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour; even so those things that men by vain imagination do feign against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things as they do the names of things), all such pleasures they believe to be of so small help and furtherance to felicity, that they count them great let and hindrance; because that, in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possess with a false opinion of pleasure: so that there is no place left for true and natural delectations. For there be many things, which of their own nature contain no pleasantness: yea, the most part of them much grief and sorrow, and yet through the perverse and malicious flickering enticements of lewd and dishonest desires, be taken not only for special and sovereign pleasures, but also be counted among the chief causes of life.

FALSE PRIDE

In this counterfeit kind of pleasure they put them that I spake of before ; which, the better gown they have on, the better men they think themselves ; in the which thing they do twice err. For they be no less deceived in that they think their gown the better, than they be in that they think themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wool of a finer spun thread be thought better than the wool of a coarse spun thread ? Yet they, as though the one did pass the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, avance themselves and think the price of their own persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honour, which in a coarse gown they durst not have looked for, they require as it were of duty for their finer gown's sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it angrily and disdainfully.

And again, is it not a like madness to take a pride in vain and unprofitable honours ? For what natural or true pleasure dost thou take of another man's bare head or bowed knees ? Will this ease the pain of thy knees, or remedy the frenzy of thy head ? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of a marvellous madness, which for the opinion of nobility rejoice¹ much in their own conceit, because it was their fortune to come of such ancestors, whose stock of long time hath been counted rich (for now nobility is nothing else), especially rich in lands. And though their ancestors left them not one foot of land, or else they themselves have pissed it against the walls,²

¹ Who delight themselves with the fancy of their own nobility (Burnet).

² Squandered it (Lat. *obligurierint*).

yet they think themselves not the less noble therefore of one hair.

In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gems and precious stones and think themselves almost gods, if they chance to get an excellent one; especially of that kind which in that time of their own countrymen is had in highest estimation. For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buy them not but taken out of the gold and bare; no, nor so neither, before they have made the seller to swear that he will warrant and assure it to be a true stone and no counterfeit gem. Such care they take lest a counterfeit stone should deceive their eyes in the stead of a right stone. But why shouldst thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discern from a right stone? They should both be of like value to thee, even as to a blind man.

What shall I say of them that keep superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the holding, and not in the use or occupying thereof? Do they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall never occupy, nor peradventure never see more; and whilst they take care lest they shall lose it, do lose it indeed? For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own use, and perchance from all other men's also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joy. The which treasure if it should chance to be stolen, and thou, ignorant of the

GAMBLING AND FIELD-SPORTS

theft, shouldst die ten years after ; all that ten years space that thou livedst, after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee whether it had been taken away, or else safe as thou leftst it ? Truly both ways like profit came to thee.

To these so foolish pleasures they join dicers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by use ; hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice upon a table ; which thou hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee weary thereof ? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure, in hearing the barking and howling of dogs ? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt, when a dog followeth an hare, than when a dog followeth a dog ? for one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast doth please thee, thou shouldst rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog ; the weak of the stronger ; the fearful of the fierce ; the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their butchers ; to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, vilest, and most abject part of butchery ; and the other parts of it more profitable and more honest, as which do bring much more commodity, and do kill beasts only for necessity. Whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and woeful beast's slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death, they think, doth rise in the



very beasts either of a cruel affection of mind, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty, by long use of so cruel a pleasure. These therefore and all suchlike, which is innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a work of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewd custom is the cause hereof; which causeth them to accept bitter or sour things for sweet things; even as women with child, in their vitiate and corrupt taste, think pitch and tallow sweeter than any honey. Howbeit no man's judgment, depraved and corrupt, either by sickness or by custom, can change the nature of pleasure, more than it can do the nature of other things.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF PLEASURE

They make divers kinds of true pleasures. For some they attribute to the soul, and some to the body. To the soul they give intelligence, and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth. Hereunto is joined the pleasant remembrance of the good life past.¹

The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived: which many times chanceth by the renewing and refreshing of those parts, which our natural heat drieth up: this cometh by meat and drink, and sometimes whiles those things be voided, whereof is in the body over-great abundance. This pleasure is felt when we do our natural easement, or when we be doing the act of generation, or when the itching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratching. Sometimes pleasure riseth, exhibiting to any member nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any pain that it feeleth; which for all that tickleth and moveth our senses with a certain secret efficacy, but with a manifest motion, and turneth them to it; as is that which cometh of music.

The second part of bodily pleasure they say is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every man's own proper health, intermingled and disturbed with no grief. For this, if it be not letted nor assaulted with no grief, is delectable of itself, though it be moved with no external or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifest to the sense, as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the Utopians grant it

¹ And the certain hope of future happiness (in the Latin).

PLEASURES OF THE BODY

to be a right great pleasure, and as you would say the foundation and ground of all pleasures ; as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant ; and it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without grief, not having health, that they call insensibility and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of them, which said that steadfast and quiet health (for this question also hath been diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion.¹ But, of the contrary part, now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most sovereign pleasure. For seeing that in sickness (say they) is grief, which is a mortal enemy to pleasure, even as sickness is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietness of health ? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sickness is a grief, or that in sickness is grief ; for all cometh to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure itself, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both ways it followeth, that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfect health. Furthermore, whiles we eat (say they), then health, which began to be appaired, fighteth by the help of food against hunger. In the which fight whilst health by little and little getteth the upper hand, that same proceeding, and (as ye would say) that onwardness to the wonted strength ministereth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict

¹ The Latin says : except (*nisi*) by some contrary motion.

PLEASURES OF THE MIND

is joyful, shall it not be merry when it hath gotten the victory? But as soon as it hath recovered the pristine strength, which thing only in all the fight it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonished? Nor shall it not know nor embrace that own wealth and goodness? For that it is said health cannot be felt, this, they think, is nothing true. For what man waking, say they, feeleth not himself in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibility, or with the sleeping sickness, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him and delectable? But what other thing is delectation than that which by another name is called pleasure?

They embrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind, for them they count the chiefest and most principal of all. The chief part of them they think doth come of the exercise of virtue and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministereth they give the pre-eminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking and whatsoever hath any like pleasantness, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no otherwise than for health's sake. For such things of their own proper nature be not pleasant, but in that they resist sickness privily stealing on. Therefore, like as it is a wise man's part rather to avoid sickness than to wish for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight careful griefs than to call for comfort; so it is much better not to need this kind of pleasure, than in feeling the contrary grief to be eased of the same.¹ The which kind of pleasure if any man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant that then he

¹ Than thereby to be eased of the contrary grief (ed. 2).

THE BASER PLEASURES

shall be in most felicity, if he live that life which is led in continual hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching, and rubbing. The which life how not only foul it is, but also miserable and wretched, who perceiveth not? These doubtless be the basest pleasures of all, as impure and imperfect, for they never come but accompanied with their contrary griefs; as with the pleasure of eating is joined hunger, and that after no very equal sort. For of these two, the grief is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it riseth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it.

Wherefore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they have delight also in these, and thankfully knowledge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasant delectation allureth her children to that which of necessity they be driven often to use. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefs of hunger and thirst could not be driven away but with bitter potions and sour medicines; as the other diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beauty, strength, nimbleness, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much of. But those pleasures that be received by the ears, the eyes, and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other kind of living beasts doth behold the fairness and the beauty of the world, or is moved with any respect of savours, but only for the diversity of meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures (I say) they accept and allow, as certain

PLEASURES OF THE SENSES

pleasant rejoicings¹ of life. But in all things this cautel they use, that a less pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure ; which they think to follow of necessity, if the pleasure be unhonest. But yet, to despise the comeliness of beauty, to waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into sluggishness, to consume and make feeble the body with fasting, to do injury to health, and to reject the other pleasant motions of nature (unless a man neglect these his commodities, whilst he doth with a fervent zeal procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure of God); else for a vain shadow of virtue, for the wealth and profit of no man, to punish himself, or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never come to him : this to do they think it a point of extreme madness, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himself, and unkind towards nature, as one so disdainig to be in her danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits.

This is their sentence and opinion of virtue and pleasure. And they believe that by man's reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they believe well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discuss, neither it is now necessary. For we have taken upon us to shew and declare their lores and ordinances, and not to defend them.

But this thing I believe verily : howsoever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world

¹ Lat. *condimenta* : the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life (Burnet).

UTOPIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER

neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing commonwealth. They be light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and of more strength than a man would judge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soil be not very fruitful, nor their air very wholesome, yet against the air they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travail, that in no country is greater increase and plenty of corn and cattle, nor men's bodies of longer life, and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There, therefore, a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished,¹ not only those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries; as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrenness of the ground; but also a whole wood by the hands of the people plucked up by the roots in one place and set again in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration not of plenty but of commodious carriage; that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is less labour and business to carry grain far by land than wood. The people be gentle, merry, quick, and fine-witted, delighting in quietness, and, when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it; but in the exercise and study of the mind they be never weary.

When they had heard me speak of the Greek literature or learning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historians and poets), they made wonderful

¹ Carried out and accomplished.

THEIR PROGRESS IN GREEK

earnest and importunate suit unto me, that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them; at the first, truly, more because I would not seem to refuse the labour, than that I hoped that they would anything profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, and perceived incontinent by their diligence that my labour should not be bestowed in vain; for they began so easily to fashion letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learn by heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it;¹ saving that the most part of them were fine and chosen wits, and of ripe age, picked out of the company of learned men, which not only of their own free and voluntary will, but also by the commandment of the council, undertook to learn this language. Therefore in less than three years space, there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked. They were able to read good authors without any stay, if the book were not false.²

This kind of learning, as I suppose, they took so much the sooner, because it is somewhat allied to them. For I think that this nation took their beginnings of the Greeks, because their speech, which in all other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue, keepeth divers signs and tokens of the Greek language in the names of their cities and of their magistrates. They have of me (for, when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the ship in the stead of merchandise a pretty fardel of books, because I intended to come again rather never than shortly)

¹ That I regarded it in the light of a miracle (Latin).

² *i.e.* unless the text was too corrupt.

WHAT BOOKS THEY USED

the most of Plato's works; more of Aristotle's; also Theophrastus of plants, but in divers places (which I am sorry for) imperfect. For whilst we were sailing, a marmoset chanced upon the book, as it was negligently laid by; which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certain leaves, and tore them in pieces. Of them that have written the grammar, they have only Lascaris.¹ For Theodorus² I carried not with me; nor never a dictionary but Hesychius³ and Dioscorides.⁴ They set great store by Plutarch's books. And they be delighted with Lucian's merry conceits and jests. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles, in Aldus's⁵ small print. Of the historians they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus,⁶ carried with him physic books, certain small works of Hippocrates, and Galen's *Microtechné*,⁷ the which book they have in great estimation. For though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath less need of physic than they, yet this notwithstanding, physic is nowhere

¹ Constantine Lascaris, one of the founders of the New Learning; he taught Greek for thirty-five years in Italy. His Grammar was one of the first books printed in Greek.

² Theodorus Gaza (1398-1478). Born at Thessalonica, he fled from the Turks to Italy, where he was engaged in teaching Greek. Like Lascaris, he was the author of a Greek Grammar, which Erasmus used at Cambridge.

³ 5th century, A.D., author of a Greek glossary, still extant in an abridged form.

⁴ Of Anazarbus in Cilicia, a Greek physician (2nd century, A.D.), author of the celebrated *Materia Medica*.

⁵ Aldus Manutius (1449-1515), of Venice, the famous publisher and printer, especially of classical works.

⁶ The word is coined from Apina and Trica, the names of two villages in Apulia, always used derisively by the Roman satirists.

⁷ Also a small work, so called in contradistinction to the *Megalotechné*, the title by which Galen's *Methodus Medendi* was usually known.

THEIR ESTEEM FOR MEDICINE

in greater honour ; because they count the knowledge of it among the goodliest and most profitable parts of philosophy. For while they by the help of this philosophy search out the secret mysteries of nature, they think that they not only receive thereby wonderful great pleasure, but also obtain great thanks and favour of the Author and Maker thereof. Whom they think, according to the fashion of other artificers, to have set forth the marvellous and gorgeous frame of the world for man to behold ; whom only He hath made of wit and capacity to consider and understand the excellence of so great a work. And therefore, say they, doth He bear more goodwill and love to the curious and diligent beholder and viewer of His work and marveller at the same, than He doth to him, which like a very beast without wit and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hath no regard to so great and so wonderful a spectacle.

The wits therefore of the Utopians, inured and exercised in learning, be marvellous quick in the invention of feats, helping anything to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thank us for ; that is the science of printing, and the craft of making paper : and yet not only us, but chiefly and principally themselves. For when we shewed to them Aldus's print in books of paper, and told them of the stuff whereof paper is made, and of the feat of engraving letters, speaking somewhat more than we could plainly declare (for there was none of us that knew perfectly either the one or the other), they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before they wrote in skins, in barks of



trees, and in reeds, now they have attempted to make paper and to print letters. And though at first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same they shortly got the feat of both ; and have so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of Greek authors, they could lack no books. But now they have no more than I rehearsed before ; saving that by printing of books they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of copies.

Whosoever cometh thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying well experienced and seen in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them), him they receive and entertain wondrous gently and lovingly ; for they have delight to hear what is done in every land. Howbeit, very few merchant men come thither. For what should they bring thither, unless it were iron, or else gold and silver, which they had rather carry home again? Also such

THEIR BONDMEN

things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisdom to carry that gear forth themselves, than that other should come thither to fetch it; to the intent they may the better know the outlands of every side them, and keep in ure the feat and knowledge of sailing.

OF BONDMEN, SICK PERSONS, WEDLOCK, AND DIVERS OTHER MATTERS

They neither make bondmen of prisoners taken in battle, unless it be in battle that they fought themselves, nor bondmen's children, nor, to be short, any man whom they can get out of another country, though he were there a bondman; but either such as among themselves for heinous offences be punished with bondage, or else such as in the cities of other lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store.

For many of them they bring home, sometimes paying very little for them; yea, most commonly getting them for grammercy. These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continual work and labour, but also in bonds. But their own men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punishment; because they, being so godly brought up to virtue, in so excellent a commonwealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing.

Another kind of bondman they have, when a vile drudge, being a poor labourer in another country, doth choose of his own free will to be a bondman among them. These they handle and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as

TREATMENT OF THE SICK

their own free citizens : saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence (which seldom is seen), they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with empty hands.

The sick (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all pass, concerning either physic or good diet, whereby they may be restored again to their health. Them that be sick of incurable diseases they comfort with sitting by them, with talking with them, and, to be short, with all manner of helps that may be. But if the disease be not only incurable, but also full of continual pain and anguish, then the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life, and by overliving his own death is noisome and irksome to other, and grievous to himself ; that he will determine¹ with himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and painful disease : and seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling¹ to die, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatch himself out of that painful life, as out of a prison or a rack of torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be rid out of it by other. And in so doing they tell him he shall do wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commodity, but end his pain. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say, of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they show him that he shall do like a godly and virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else die in their sleep²

¹ Construed with "exhort the man . . ."

² Lat. *sopiti*, put to sleep, by opiates.

MARRIAGE

without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will; nor they use no less diligence and attendance about him; believing¹ this to be an honourable death. Else he that killeth himself before that the priest and the council have allowed the cause of his death, him, as unworthy both of the earth and of fire, they cast unburied into some stinking marsh.

The woman is not married before she be eighteen years old. The man is four years older before he marry. If either the man or the woman be proved to have bodily offended, before their marriage, with another,² he or she, whether it be, is sharply punished; and both the offenders be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry, unless the fault be forgiven by the prince's pardon. But both the goodman and the goodwife of the house where that offence was done, as being slack and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach and infamy. That offence is so sharply punished, because they perceive, that unless they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will join together in the love of marriage; wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefs and displeasures that come therewith must patiently be taken and borne.

Furthermore, in choosing wives and husbands they observe earnestly and straitly a custom which seemed to us very fond and foolish. For a sad and an honest matron showeth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer.³ And like-

¹ This rendering is incorrect. A new sentence begins here: While they believe that it is an honourable act for those who are persuaded (by the priests) to die in this manner (*i.e.* voluntarily), if the priests have not approved. . . .

² Not in the Latin.

³ See *New Atlantis* (p. 248).

wise a sage and discrete man exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custom we laughed and disallowed it as foolish. But they on the other part do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations, which in buying a colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, be so chary and circumspect, that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off, lest under those coverings be hid some gall or sore ; and yet in choosing a wife, which shall be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so reckless that, all the residue of the woman's body being covered with clothes, they esteem her scarcely by one handbreadth (for they can see no more but her face) ; and so do join her to them not without great jeopardy of evil agreeing together, if anything in her body afterward do offend and mislike them. For all men be not so wise as to have respect to the virtuous conditions of the party ; and the endowments of the body cause the virtues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded, yea, even in the marriages of wise men. Verily so foul deformity may be hid under these coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again. If such deformity happen by any chance after the marriage is consummate and finished ; well, there is no remedy but patience. Every man must take his fortune well a worth. But it were well done that a law were made, whereby all such deceits might be eschewed and avoided beforehand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to look upon, because they only of the nations in

MARRIAGE RARELY DISSOLVED

that part of the world be content every man with one wife apiece; and matrimony is there never broken, but by death; except adultery break the bond, or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party. For if either of them find themselves for any such cause grieved, they may by the licence of the council change and take another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlock. But for the husband to put away his wife for no fault, but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no means they will suffer. For they judge it a great point of cruelty that anybody in their most need of help and comfort should be cast off and forsaken; and that old age, which both bringeth sickness with it, and is a sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt withal. But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and the woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they by the full consent of them both be divorced asunder and new married to other; but that not without the authority of the council, which agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea, and then also they be loth to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage.

Breakers of wedlock be punished with most grievous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalf have suffered wrong be divorced from the adulterers if they will, and be married together, or else to whom

they lust. But if either of them both do still continue in love toward so unkind a bedfellow, the use of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party be disposed to follow in toiling and drudgery the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft¹ it chanceth that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so move the prince with pity and compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from servitude to liberty and freedom again. But if the same party be taken eftsoons in that fault, there is no other way but death.

To other trespasses there is no prescript punishment appointed by any law. But according to the heinousness of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the council. The husbands chastise their wives, and the parents their children ; unless they have done any so horrible an offence, that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honest manners. But most commonly the most heinous faults be punished with the incommodity of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no less grief, and to the commonwealth more profitable, than if they should hastily put them to death, and make them out of the way. For there cometh more profit of their labour, than of their death ; and by their example they fear other the longer from like offences. But if they, being thus used, do rebel and kick again, then forsooth they be slain as desperate and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chain could restrain and keep under. But they which take their bondage patiently be not left all hopeless. For after they

¹ Lat. *interdum* : now and then.

FOOLS AND THE DEFORMED

have been broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they shew such repentence, whereby it may be perceived that they be sorrier for their offence than for their punishment, sometimes by the prince's prerogative, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or else clean remitted and forgiven. He that moveth to adultery is in no less danger and jeopardy, than if he had committed adultery indeed. For in all offences they count the intent and pretended purpose as evil as the act or deed itself. For they think that no let ought to excuse him, that did his best to have no let.¹

They set great store by fools. And as it is great reproach to do to any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishness. For that, they think, doth much good to the fools. And if any man be so sad and stern, that he cannot laugh neither at their words nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition ; for fear lest he would not order them gently and favourably enough, to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodness in them is none), much less any profit should they yield him.

To mock a man for his deformity, or for that he lacketh any part or limb of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh ; which unwisely doth upbraid any man of that as a vice, which was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him² that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness,

¹ Failure is no excuse for one who has done his best to prevent failure.

² They regard it as the sign of a sluggish and indolent mind (*segnis atque inertis*).

REWARDS FOR VIRTUE

so to help the same with paintings is taken for a vain and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know even by very experience, that no comeliness of beauty doth so highly commend and avance the wives in the conceit of their husbands,¹ as honest conditions and lowliness. For as love is oftentimes won with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by virtue and obedience.

They do not only fear their people from doing evil by punishments, but also allure them to virtue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set up in the market-place the images of notable men, and of such as have been great and bountiful benefactors to the commonwealth, for the perpetual memory of their good acts; and also that the glory and renown of the ancestors may stir² and provoke their posterity to virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left all hopeless for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly. For no magistrate is either haughty or fearful; fathers they be called, and like fathers they use themselves.³ The citizens (as it is their duty) do willingly exhibit unto them due honour, without any compulsion. Nor the prince himself is not known from the other by his apparel, nor by a crown or diadem or cap of maintenance,⁴ but by a little sheaf of corn carried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, whereby only he is known.

¹ Promote their husbands' good opinion of them.

² "Spur" would better express the Latin *calcar*.

³ Lat. (*se*) *exhibent*, show themselves.

⁴ Cap of dignity, of crimson velvet, bound with ermine. It is an addition of the translator's.

LIMITED NUMBER OF LAWS

They have but few laws, for to people so instruct and institute very few do suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that man should be bound to those laws, which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than any man can well understand them. Furthermore, they utterly exclude and banish all proctors and serjeants at the law, which craftily handle matters, and subtly dispute of the laws. For they think it most meet that every man should plead his own matter, and tell the same tale before the judge, that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be less circumstance of words, and the truth shall sooner come to light; whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doth weigh the words of him whom no lawyer hath instruct with deceit; and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumvertions of crafty children. This is hard to be observed in other countries, in so infinite a number of blind and intricate laws. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer. For (as I said) they have very few laws; and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just. For all laws (say they) be made and published only to the intent, that by them every man should be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them can put very few in that remembrance (for they be but few that do perceive them); whereas the simple, the plain, and gross meaning of the laws is open to

LEND MAGISTRATES TO OTHERS

every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them that no law were made at all, as, when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it? to the finding out whereof neither the gross judgement of the people can attain, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto.

These virtues of the Utopians have caused their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no subjection (for the Utopians long ago have delivered many of them from tyranny), to take magistrates of them, some for a year and some for five years space. Which, when the time of their office is expired, they bring home again with honour and praise; and take new ones again with them into their country. These nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomely provided for their commonwealths. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the weal publique doth depend and hang of the manners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen than those which cannot be led from honesty by bribes (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own country money should be unprofitable); nor yet be moved either with favour or malice towards any man, as being strangers and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection¹ and avarice where they take place in judgements, incontinent they break justice, the strongest and surest bond

¹ Feeling for or against any man, bias.

LEAGUES AND TREATIES

of a commonwealth. These peoples which fetch their officers and rulers from them the Utopians call their fellows ; and other, to whom they have been beneficial, they call their friends.

As touching leagues, which in other places between country and country be so oft concluded, broken, and made again, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they ; as though nature had not set sufficient love between man and man. And whoso regardeth not nature, think you that he will pass for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly because that in those parts of the world leagues between princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in Europe, and especially in these parts, where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of league is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable, partly through the justice and goodness of princes ; and partly through the reverence of great bishops, which, like as they make no promise themselves, but they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all princes in anywise to abide by their promises ; and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and authority they compel thereto. And surely they think well that it might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them, which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should have no place.

But in that new found part of the world, which is scarcely so far from us beyond the line equinoctial as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremonies the league is knit up with, the sooner it is broken, by some cavilla-



tion found in the words; which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong, but they will find some hole open to creep out at, and to break both league and truth. The which crafty dealing, yea, the which fraud and deceit, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargains and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with a sour countenance, as an offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shameful death; yea, even very they that advance themselves¹ authors of like counsel given to princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all justice is but a base and a low virtue, and which availeth itself far under the high dignity of kings; or, at the least wise, that there be two justices; the one meet for the inferior sort of the people, going afoot and creeping below on the ground, and bound down on every side with many bands, because it shall

¹ Those very same persons who boast themselves.

LEAGUES CREATE ENMITY

not run at rovers¹: the other a princely virtue, which like as it is of much higher majesty than the other poor justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawful that it lusteth after.

These manners of princes (as I said) which be there so evil keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all: which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. Howbeit they think that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custom of making leagues was very evil begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate asunder by the space of a little hill or a river, were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to another; and that it is lawful for the one to seek the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not; yea, and that, after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth not grow and increase; but the licence of robbing and stealing doth still remain, as far forth as, for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrary is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion: that is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy which hath done no injury; and that the fellowship of nature is a strong league; and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence, than by covenants of leagues; by hearty affection of mind, than by words.

¹ Wander at random: Lat. *septa transilire*, to overleap the barriers.



OF WARFARE

War or battle as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as it is to man, they do detest and abhor; and contrary to the custom almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory as glory gotten in war. And therefore, though they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war, and that not only the men, but also the women, upon certain appointed days, lest they should be to seek in the feat of arms if need should require; yet they never to¹ go to battle, but either in the defence of their own country, or to drive out of their friends' land the enemies that be comen in, or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people that be oppressed with tyranny; which thing they do of mere pity and compassion. Howbeit they send help to their friends: not ever in their defence,² but some-

¹ "To" is omitted in ed. 2.

² Lat. whereby they may defend themselves.

DEFEAT OF THE ALAOPOLITANS

times also to require and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not unless their counsel and advice in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they find the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore again such things as be of them justly demanded, then they be the chief authors and makers of the war. Which they do not only as oft as by inroads and invasions of soldiers prey and booty be driven away, but then also much more mortally, when their friends' merchants in any land, either under the pretence of unjust laws, or else by the wresting and wrong understanding of good laws, do sustain an unjust accusation under the colour of justice. Neither the battle which the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes¹ against the Alaopolitans,² a little before our time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete merchant men, as the Utopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitans, under the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal war revenged, the countries round about joining their help and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewdly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiefs were not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitans at the last were yielded up as bondmen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the war, when the Alaopolitans flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them.

¹ "Children of the mist" (G. C. Richards).

² "Dwellers in the city of the blind."

THEIR CRAFT IN WAR

So eagerly the Utopians prosecute the injuries done to their friends, yea, in money matters: and not their own likewise. For if they by covinē or guile be wiped beside¹ their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreak their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set less store by their own citizens, than by their friends; but they take the loss of their friends' money more heavily than the loss of their own: because that their friends' merchant men, forasmuch as that they lose is their own private goods, sustain great damage by the loss; but their own citizens lose nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, else had it not been sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the loss. And for this cause they think it too cruel an act to revenge that loss with the death of many, the incommodity of the which loss no man feeleth neither in his life, neither in his living. But if it chance that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private counsel; knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their ambassadors, unless the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injury, they will not be appeased, but incontinent they proclaim war against them. The offenders yielded, they punish either with death or with bondage.

They be not only sorry, but also ashamed to achieve the victory with much bloodshed; counting it great folly to buy precious wares too dear. They rejoyce and avaunt themselves, if

¹ Lat. *circumscripti*, cheated of.

THEIR OBJECT IN WAR

they vanquish and oppress their enemies by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a general triumph; and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set up a pillar of stone¹ in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack that they have played the men indeed, when they have so overcome, as no other living creature but only man could; that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs, and other wild beasts do fight. And as the most part of them do pass us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger than they all.

Their chief and principal purpose in war is to obtain that thing, which if they had before obtained they would not have moved battle. But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be afeared to do the like. This is their chief and principal intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute and set forward; but yet so, that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing jeopardies, than they be desirous of praise and renown. Therefore immediately after that war is once solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamations, signed with their own common seal, to be set up privily at one time in their enemy's land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemy's prince; and somewhat less gifts, but them very great also, for every head of them whose names be in the said

¹ Lat. *tropheum*. The rest of the sentence is not in the Latin.

REWARDS TO DESERTERS

proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chief adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive: yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds and come in to them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and surety of their lives.

Therefore it quickly cometh to pass that they have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithful and mistrusting among themselves one to another; living in great fear and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known that divers times the most part of them, and specially the prince himself, hath been betrayed of them in whom they put their most hope and trust. So that there is no manner of act nor deed, that gifts and rewards do not enforce men unto.¹ And in rewards they keep no measure; but remembering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavour themselves to recompense the greatness of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great abundance of gold, but also lands of great revenues, lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they perform faithfully, without any fraud or covine.

This custom of buying and selling adversaries among other people is disallowed, as a cruel act of a base and a cowardly mind. But they in this behalf think themselves much praiseworthy, as

¹ Lat. so easily—*not*, so that—do gifts drive men to any kind of deed.

THEIR MERCENARIES

who, like wise men, by this means dispatch great wars without any battle or skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deed of pity and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders the lives of a great number of innocents, as well as of their own men as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common sort of their enemy's people, than they do their own; knowing that they be driven to war against their wills by the furious madness of their princes and heads.

If by none of these means the matter goes forward as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate and dissension to be spread among their enemies; as by bringing the prince's brother, or some of the noblemen, in hope to obtain the kingdom. If this way prevail not,¹ then they raise up the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they set in their necks² under the colour of some old title of right, such as kings do never lack. To them they promise their help and aid in their war. And as for money they give them abundance; but of their own citizens they send to them few or none. Whom they make so much of, and love so entirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adversary's prince. But their gold and silver, because they keep it all for this only purpose they lay it out frankly and freely; as who should live even as wealthily, if they had bestowed it every penny. Yea, and besides their riches,

¹ Lat. *si factiones internae languerint*: lit. if internal factions are ineffective.

² Set them against them (*committere*, to pit one person against another).

THEIR GREED OF MONEY

which they keep at home, they have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countries, and send them to battle ; but chiefly of the Zapoletes.¹ This people is five hundred miles from Utopia eastward. They be hideous, savage, and fierce, dwelling in wild woods and high mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hardy nature, able to abide and sustain heat, cold, and labour ; abhorring from all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in the building of their houses and in their apparel ; given unto no goodness, but only to the breed and bringing up of cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be born only to war, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They go forth of their country in great companies together, and whosoever lacketh soldiers, there they proffer their services for small wages. This is only the craft² that they have to get their living by. They maintain their life by seeking their death. For them, whomwith they be in wages, they fight hardily, fiercely, and faithfully. But they bind themselves for no certain time. But upon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages ; and the next day after that they will be ready to come back again for a little more money. There be few wars thereaway, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore

¹ Mercenaries (Gk. *ζαπωληται*, ready to sell themselves).

² *i.e.* the only craft.

THEIR REWARDS

it daily chanceth that nigh kinsfolk, which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly used themselves one with another, shortly after, being separate into contrary parties, run one against another enviously and fiercely, and forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another: and that for none other cause, but that they be hired of contrary princes for a little money. Which they do so highly regard and esteem, that they will easily be provoked to change parties for a halfpenny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a smack in¹ covetousness; which for all that is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediately they spend unthriftilly and wretchedly in riot.

This people fight for the Utopians against all nations, because they give them greater wages than any other nation will. For the Utopians, like as they seek good men to use well, so they seek these evil and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewards they put forth into great jeopardies; from whence the most part of them never cometh again to ask their rewards. But to them that remain on life they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like dangers another time. Nor the Utopians pass not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they believe that they should do a very good deed for all mankind if they could rid out of the world all that foul stinking den of that most wicked and cursed people.

¹ Acquired a taste for.

USE OF THEIR OWN SOLDIERS

Next unto these they use the soldiers of them whom they fight for. And then the help of their other friends, and last of all they join to their own citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried virtue and prowess the rule, governance, and conduct of the whole army. Under him they appoint two others, which whiles he is safe be both private and out of office: but if he be taken or slain, the one of the other two succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his room; least that (as the chance of battle is uncertain and doubtful) the jeopardy or death of the captain should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose soldiers out of every city those which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no man forth into war against his will; because they believe, if any man be fearful and faint-hearted of nature, he will not only do no manful and hardy act himself, but also be occasion of cowardness to his fellows. But if any battle be made against their own country, then they put these cowards, so that they be strong-bodied, in ships among other bold-hearted men. Or else they dispose them upon the walls, from whence they may not fly. Thus, what for shame that their enemies be at hand,¹ and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all fear. And many times extreme necessity turneth cowardness into prowess and manliness.

But as none of them is thrust forth of his country into war against his will, so women that be willing to accompany their husbands in times

¹ *In manibus*: rather, are engaged with them "in the heat of action" (Burnet).

BRAVERY OF THE SOLDIERS

of war be not prohibited or stopped. Yea, they provoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field the wives do stand every one by her own husband's side. Also every man is compassed next about with his own children, kinsfolk, and alliance; that they, whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succour, thus standing together, may help one another. It is a great reproach and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the son without his father. And therefore, if the other part stick so hard by it that the battle come to their hands,¹ it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parts. For as they make all the means and shifts that may be, to keep themselves from the necessity of fighting, so that they may dispatch the battle by their hired soldiers, so, when there is no remedy but that they must needs fight themselves, then they do as courageously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely avoid it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage increaseth, with so stubborn and obstinate minds, that they will rather die than give back an inch. For that surety of living which every man hath at home, being joined with no careful anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them (for this pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomachs) maketh them stout and hardy, and disdainful to be conquered. Moreover, their knowledge in chivalry and feats

¹ If the Utopians are forced to take part in the battle themselves, owing to the obstinate resistance offered by the enemy to the mercenaries, etc.

THEIR MILITARY STRATAGEMS

of arms putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the wholesome and virtuous opinions wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinances of their weal publique, augment and increase their manful courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rashly and unadvisedly cast them away; nor they be not so far in lewd and fond love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keep them when honesty biddeth leave them.

When the battle is hottest and in all places most fierce and fervent, a band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their adversaries' captain. Him they invade, now with privy wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and a continual assault; fresh men still coming in the wearied men's places. And seldom it chanceth (unless he save himself by flying) that he is not either slain, or else taken prisoner, and yielded to his enemies alive. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive than kill them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursuit of their enemies, but they leave behind them one part of their host in battle array under their standards. Insomuch that if all their whole army be discomfited and overcome, saving the rearward, and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies escape, than to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chanced unto

AMBUSCADES AND ENTRENCHMENTS

themselves more than once : the whole power and strength of their host being vanquished and put to flight, while their enemies, rejoicing in the victory, have persecuted them flying, some one way and some another ; few of their men lying in an ambush, there ready at all occasions, have suddenly risen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battle ; and spite of their teeth,¹ wresting out of their hands the sure and undoubted victory, being a little before conquered, have for their part conquered the conquerors.

It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think they intend to fly, when they mean nothing less. And contrary wise, when they go about that purpose, you would believe it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves either overmatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their camp either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies ; or in the day-time they retire back so softly,² that it is no less jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back than when they press on. They fence and fortify their camp surely with a deep and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaves a-work about it. It is done by the hands of the soldiers themselves. All the whole army worketh upon it, except them that

¹ Notwithstanding their obstinate resistance.

² Quietly (Lat. *sensim*, gradually) and in good order (Lat. *tali servato ordine* omitted in R.'s translation).

LENIENCY TO ENEMIES

watch in harness before the trench for sudden adventures. Therefore, by the labour of so many, a large trench closing in a great compass of ground is made in less time than any man would believe.

Their armour or harness which they wear is sure and strong to receive strokes, and handsome for all movings and gestures of the body ; insomuch that it is not unwieldy to swim in. For in the discipline of their warfare, among other feats they learn to swim in harness. Their weapons be arrows afar off, which they shoot both strongly and surely ; not only footmen but also horsemen. At hand strokes they use not swords but pole-axes, which be mortal, as well in sharpness as in weight, both for foynes¹ and down strokes. Engines for war they devise and invent wondrous wittily. Which when they be made, they keep very secret ; lest if they should be known before need require, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in making them, hereunto they have chief respect² that they be both easy to be carried, and handsome to be moved and turned about.

Truce taken with their enemies for a short time they do so firmly and faithfully keep, that they will not break it ; no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their enemy's land with foragings, nor they burn not up their corn. Yea, they save it as much as may be from being overrun and trodden down, either with men or horses ; thinking that it groweth for their own use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, unless he be a spy. All cities that be yielded unto them, they defend. And such as

¹ Thrusts with the point of the weapon (*punctim*).

² The chief object of consideration is . .

INDEMNITIES EXACTED

they win by force of assault they neither despoil nor sack ; but them that withstood and dissuaded the yielding up of the same they put to death ; the other soldiers they punish with bondage. All the weak multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any citizens counselled to yield and render up the city, to them they give part of the condemned men's goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them, whose help they had in the same war. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey.

But when the battle is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered. Them they burden with the whole charge of their expenses ; which they demand of them partly in money, to be kept for like use of battle, and partly in lands of great revenues, to be paid unto them yearly for ever. Such revenues they have now in many countries ; which by little and little rising, of divers and sundry causes, be increased above seven hundred thousand ducats by the year. Thither they send forth some of their citizens as lieutenants, to live there sumptuously like men of honour and renown. And yet, this notwithstanding, much money is saved, which cometh to the common treasury ; unless it so chance, that they had rather trust the country with the money. Which many times they do so long until they have need to occupy it. And it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these lands they assign part unto them, which at their request and exhortation put themselves in such jeopardies as I spake of before. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to

THEIR BELIEF IN ONE GOD

invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength. For they never lightly make war in their own countries. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessity, as to take help out of foreign lands into their own island.

OF THE RELIGIONS IN UTOPIA

There be divers kinds of religion, not only in sundry parts of the island, but also in divers places of every city. Some worship for God the sun; some the moon; some some other of the planets. There be that give worship to a man that was once of excellent virtue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and wisest part (rejecting all these) believe that there is a certain godly power unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man's wit, dispersed throughout all the world, not in bigness, but in virtue and power. Him they call the Father of all. To Him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things. Neither they give divine honours to any other than to Him.

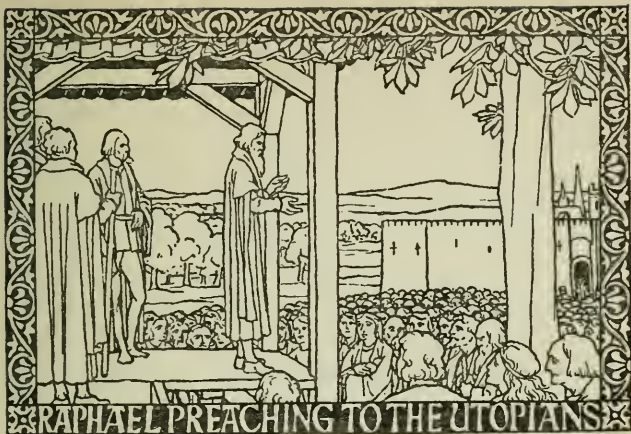
Yea, all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree all together with the wisest sort, in believing that there is one chief and principal God, the maker and ruler of the whole world, Whom they all commonly in their country language call Mithra.¹ But in this they disagree, that among some He is counted

¹ Or Mithras, the Persian sun-god.

SOME BECOME CHRISTIANS

one, and among some another. For everyone of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to Whose only divine might and majesty the sum and sovereignty of all things, by the consent of all people, is attributed and given. Howbeit, they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to pass and excel the residue. And it is not to be doubted but all the other would long ago have been abolished; but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them as he was minded to change his religion, the fearfulness of people did take it not as a thing coming by chance, but as sent from God out of heaven; as though the God, whose honour he was forsaking, would revenge that wicked purpose against him.

But after they heard us speak of the name of Christ, of His doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect; you will not believe with how glad minds they agreed unto the same; whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it next unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit, I think this was no small help and furtherance in the matter, that they heard us say that Christ instituted among his all things common; and that the same community doth yet remain amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verily, howsoever, it came to pass, many of them



consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of baptism.

But because among us four (for no more of us was left alive, two of our company being dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorry for, they, being entered and instructed in all other points of our religion, lack only those sacraments, which here none but priests do minister. Howbeit, they understand and perceive them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether, without the sending of a Christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receive the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one: but at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also, which do not agree to Christ's religion, fear no man from it, nor speak against any man that hath received it, saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He, as soon as he was baptized, began against our wills, with more

ALL RELIGIONS ALLOWED

earnest affection than wisdom, to reason of Christ's religion ; and began to wax so hot in his manner, that he did not only prefer our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other, calling them profane, and the followers of them wicked and devilish,¹ and the children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile ; not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person, and a raiser-up of dissension among the people. For this is one of the ancientest laws among them : that no man shall be blamed² for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion.

For king Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his coming thither at continual dissension and strife among themselves for their religions ; perceiving also that this common dissension, whiles every several sect took several parts in fighting for their country, was the only occasion of his conquest over them all ; as soon as he had gotten the victory, first of all he made a decree that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion ; so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from displeasing and seditious

¹ Impious and sacrilegious persons (Burnet).

² Lat. *ne fraudi sit*, that it should not be a cause of harm to him, that he should not suffer for it.

LIBERTY OF CHOICE

words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend, was decreed banishment or bondage.

This law did King Utopus make, not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished, but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly; as doubting whether God, desiring manifold and diverse sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true. Furthermore though there be one religion which alone is true, and all other vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason and sober modesty), that the truth of the own power¹ would, at the last, issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalf should continually be used, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn, and in their evil opinion most constant; he perceived that the best and holiest religion would be trodden under foot and destroyed by most vain superstitions; even as good corn is by thorns and weeds overgrown and choked. Therefore all this matter he left undiscussed, and gave to every man free liberty and choice to believe what he would; saving that he earnestly and straitly charged them, that no man should conceive so vile and base an opinion of the dignity of man's

¹ That truth, by its innate force (Lupton).

THE SOUL IMMORTAL

nature, as to think that the souls do die and perish with the body: or that the world runneth at all adventures governed by no divine providence. And therefore they believe that after this life vices be extremely punished, and virtues bountifully rewarded. Him that is of a contrary opinion they count not in the number of men, as one that hath avaled the high nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts' bodies; much less in the number of their citizens, whose laws and ordinances, if it were not for fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break, the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws, nor further hope than of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices, and reject from all common administrations in the weal publique. And thus he is of all sort despised as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list. No, nor they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind, and shew countenance contrary to his thought. For deceit, and falsehood, and all manners of lies, as next unto fraud, they do marvellously detest and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that only among the common people. For else apart, among the priests and men of gravity, they do not only suffer but also exhort him to dispute and argue; hoping that at the last that madness will give place to reason.

There be also other, and of them no small

THEIR IDEAS OF DEATH

number, which be not forbidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion upon some reason; being in their living neither evil nor vicious. Their heresy is much contrary to the other. For they believe that the souls of brute beasts be immortal and everlasting; but nothing to be compared with ours in dignity, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicity. For all they believe certainly and surely, that man's bliss shall be so great, that they do mourn and lament every man's sickness, but no man's death; unless it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully, and against his will. For this they take for a very evil token, as though the soul, being in despair and vexed in conscience, through some privy and secret fore-feeling of the punishment now at hand were afeared to depart. And they think he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to Him gladly, but is drawn by force and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death do abhor it, and them that so die they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they have prayed God to be merciful to the soul, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities thereof, they cover the dead with earth.

Contrariwise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyful singing, commending the souls to God with great affection. And at the last not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence, they burn the bodies; and in the same place they set up a pillar of stone, with the dead man's titles therein graved. When they be come home they rehearse his virtuous manners

CONTEMPT FOR SOOTHSAYING

and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death. They think that this remembrance of their virtue and goodness doth vehemently provoke and enforce the quick to virtue; and that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead; whom they suppose to be present among them when they talk of them, though to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient thing, that the blessed should not be at liberty to go whither they would. And it were a point of great unkindness in them, to have utterly cast away the desire of visiting and seeing their friends, to whom they were in their lifetime joined by mutual love and charity; which in good men after their death they count to be rather increased than diminished. They believe therefore that the dead be presently conversant among the quick, as beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they go more courageously to their business, as having a trust and affiance in such overseers. And this same belief of the present conversation of their forefathers and ancestors among them feareth them from all secret dishonesty.

They utterly despise and mock soothsayings and divinations of things to come by the flight or voices of birds, and all other divinations of vain superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteem and worship miracles, that come by no help of nature, as works and witnesses of the present power of God. And such they say do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and

LABOUR AND GOOD WORKS

obtain them with sure hope and confidence and a steadfast belief.

They think that the contemplation of nature, and the praise thereof coming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they pass nothing for learning, nor give their minds to no knowledge of things. But idleness they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busy labours and good exercises. Some therefore of them attend upon the sick, some amend high ways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, dig turfs, gravel, and stones, fell and cleave wood, bring wood, corn, and other things into the cities in carts, and serve not only in common works but also in private labours, as servants, yea, more than bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant, hard, and vile work is anywhere, from the which labour, loathsomeness, and desperation doth fray other, all that they take upon them willingly and gladly ; procuring quiet and rest to other ; remaining in continual work and labour themselves ; not embraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other men's lives, nor glory in their own. These men, the more serviceable¹ they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men.

Yet they be divided into two sects. The one is of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from the eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts. Which, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all

¹ Lat. *quo magis sese servos exhibent*, the more they behave like slaves.

CELIBATES AND MARRIED MEN

wholly set upon the desire of the life to come ; by watching and sweating hoping shortly to obtain it, being in the mean season merry and lusty. The other sect is no less desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimony, not despising the solace thereof ; thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toil, nor towards their native country, without procreation of children. They abstain from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of four-footed beasts, because they believe that by that meat they be made hardier and stronger to work. The Utopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which, in that they prefer single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason, they would mock them ; but now, forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honour and worship them.¹ And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name they call Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion, or religious men.

They have priests of exceeding holiness, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteen in every city, according to the number of their churches, saving when they go forth to battle. For then seven of them go forth with the army, in whose steads so many new be made at home. But the other, at their return home, again re-enter every one into his own place. They that be above the number, until such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the mean

¹ For there is nothing they are more cautious about, than rashly pronouncing an opinion upon any point of religion (omitted by R.).

IMMORAL PRIESTS DISGRACED

season continually in company with the bishop. For he is the chief head of them all. They be chosen of the people as the other magistrates be, by secret voices for the avoiding of strife. After the election they be consecrate of their own company. They be overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were judges and masters of manners. And it is a great dishonesty and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so is it the duty of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punish offenders; saving that the priests, whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret fear of religion, and shall not long escape free with their bodies. For unless they, by quick repentance, approve the amendment of their lives to the priests, they be taken and punished of the council as wicked and irreligious.

Both childhood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning than in virtue and good manners. For they use with very great endeavour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, while they be yet tender and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weal publique. Which, when they be once rooted in children, do remain with them all their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenance of the state of the common-

PUNISHMENT LEFT TO GOD

wealth; which never decayeth but through vices rising of evil opinions.

The priests, unless they be women (for that kind is not excluded from priesthood; howbeit few be chosen, and none but widows and old women), the men priests, I say, take to their wives the chiefest women in all their country. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and pre-eminence given, insomuch that, if they commit any offence, they be under no common judgement, but be left only to God and themselves. For they think it is not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God as a holy offering. This manner may they easily observe, because they have so few priests, and do choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely ever chanceth that the most virtuous among virtuous, which in respect only of his virtue is advanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice and wickedness. And if it should chance indeed (as man's nature is mutable and frail) yet by reason they be so few and promoted to no might nor power, but only honour, it were not to be feared that any great damage by them should happen and ensue to the commonwealth. They have so rare and few priests lest, if the honour were communicate to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt; specially because they think it hard to find many so good, as to be meet for that dignity to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be endued with mean virtues.

Furthermore, these priests be not more esteemed



of their own countrymen, than they be of foreign and strange countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appear, and I think also that this is the cause of it. For while the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside, not far off, kneel upon their knees in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven; praying first of all for peace, next for victory of their own part, but to neither part a bloody victory. If their host get the upper hand, they run in to the main battle, and restrain their own men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies. Which enemies, if they do but see them and speak to them, it is enough for the safeguard of their lives: and the touching of their clothes defendeth and saveth all their goods from ravine and spoil. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true majesty among all nations, that many times they have as well preserved their own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their 'enemies' from the

THEIR CHURCHES

furious rage of their own men. For it is well known that when their own army hath recoiled, and in despair turned back and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoil, then the priests coming between have stayed the murder, and parted both the hosts ; so that peace hath been made and concluded between both parties upon equal and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation so fierce, so cruel, and rude, but they had them in such reverence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

They keep holiday the first and the last day of every month and year, dividing the year into months ; which they measure by the course of the moon, as they do the year by the course of the sun. The first days they call in their language Lynemernes,¹ and the last Trapemernes ;¹ the which words may be interpreted primifeste and finifeste ; or else, in our speech, first feast and last feast.

Their churches be very gorgeous, and not only of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewness of them was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receive a great company of people. But they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit that was not done through ignorance in building, but, as they say, by the counsel of the priests. Because they thought that overmuch light doth disperse men's cogitations ; whereas in dim and doubtful light they be gathered together, and more

¹ The names are probably suggested by Greek words which denoted the 'dog's day' of the month, the night between the old and the new, and the turning or closing day of the month.

THEIR MODE OF WORSHIP

earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion. Which because it is not there of one sort among all men ; and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the honour of the divine nature, as going divers ways to one end ; therefore nothing is seen nor heard in the churches, which seemeth not to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice, peculiar to any several sect, that they execute at home in their own houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions.

Therefore no image of any god is seen in the church ; to the intent it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likeness and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra. In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesty, whatsoever it be. No prayers be used, but such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any sect.

They come therefore to the church the last day of every month and year, in the evening, yet fasting, there to give thanks to God for that they have prosperously passed over the year or month, whereof that holiday is the last day. The next day they come to the church early in the morning, to pray to God that they may have good fortune and success all the new year or month, which they do begin of that same holiday. But in the holidays that be the last days of the months and years, before they come to the church, the wives fall down prostrate before their husbands' feet at home, and the children before the feet of their

THE SEATS OF WORSHIPPERS

parents ; confessing and acknowledging that they have offended either by some actual deed, or by omission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblown ; that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afeared to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore, if they know themselves to bear any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for fear of great vengeance and punishment for their offence.

When they come thither the men go into the right side of the church, and the women into the left side. There they place themselves in such order that all they which be of the male kind in every household sit before the goodman of the house ; and they of the female kind before the goodwife. Thus it is foreseen that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them, by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder ; lest, if children be joined together, they should pass over that time in childish wantonness, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout fear towards God ; which is the chief and almost the only incitation to virtue.

They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful clemency of God hath delight in blood and slaughter ; which hath given life to beasts, to the intent they should live. They

DRESS OF PRIESTS AND PEOPLE

burn frankincense and other sweet savours, and light also a great number of wax candles and tapers; not supposing this gear to be anything available to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men; but this unhurtful and harmless kind of worship pleaseth them. And by these sweet savours and lights, and other such ceremonies, men feel themselves secretly lifted up, and encouraged to devotion, with more willing and fervent hearts. The people weareth in the church white apparel: the priest is clothed in changeable colours, which in workmanship be excellent, but in stuff not very precious. For their vestments be neither embroidered with gold, nor set with precious stones; but they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers feathers of fowls, that the estimation of no costly stuff is able to counter-vail the price of the work. Furthermore, in these birds' feathers, and in the due order of them, which is observed in their setting, they say is contained certain divine mysteries; the interpretation whereof known, which is diligently taught by the priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them, and of the love and honour which of their behalf is due to God, and also of their duties one toward another.

When the priest first cometh out of the vestry, thus apparelled, they fall down incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence on every part, that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certain fear of God, as though He were there personally present. When they have lain a little space on the ground, the priest giveth them a sign for to rise. Then they sing praises unto God, which they intermix with instru-

FORMS OF PRAYER

ments of music, for the most part of other fashions than these that we use in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours.¹ But in one thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us. For all their music, both that they play upon instruments, and that they sing with man's voice, doth so resemble and express natural affections; the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing; that whether it be a prayer, or else a ditty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger, the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce, and inflame the hearers' minds.

At the last the people and the priest together rehearse solemn prayers in words, expressly pronounced; ² so made that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers every man recognizeth and acknowledgeth God to be his Maker, his Governor, and the Principal Cause of all other goodness; thanking Him for so many benefits received at His hands: but namely, that through the favour of God he hath chanced into that public weal, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he do anything err, or if there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth Him that He will of His goodness let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever He will lead him. But if this form

¹ Theirs . . . ours . . . ours . . . theirs, according to the Latin.

² *Conceptis verbis*: the classical expression for a set form of words.

A TRUE COMMONWEALTH

and fashion of a commonwealth be best, and his own religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant steadfastness in the same and to bring all other people to the same order of living, and to the same opinion of God; unless there be anything that in this diversity of religions doth delight His unsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth Him that after his death¹ he may come to Him, but how soon or late, that he dare not assign or determine. Howbeit if it might stand with His Majesty's pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful death and so to go to God, than by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from Him. When this prayer is said, they fall down to the ground again, and a little after they rise up and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they pass over in plays, and exercise of chivalry.²

Now I have declared and described unto you, as truly as I could, the form and order of that commonwealth, which verily in my judgement is not only the best, but also that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of a commonwealth or public weal. For in other places they speak still of the commonwealth; but every man procureth his own private wealth. Here where nothing is private, the common affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unless he make some several provision for himself, though the commonwealth

¹ *Facile* is untranslated; 'an easy passage at last to himself' (Burnet).

² Lat. military exercises, practice in arms.

ITS ADVANTAGES

flourish never so much in riches? And therefore he is compelled, even of very necessity, to have regard to himself rather than to the people, that is to say, to other. Contrariwise, there where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack anything necessary for his private uses, so that the common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish sort, neither there is any poor man or beggar. And though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich than to live joyfully and merrily without all grief and pensiveness; not caring for his own living, nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, not dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry? Yea, they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs; of their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet, besides this, there is no less provision for them that were once labourers, and be now weak and impotent, than for them that do now labour and take pain.

Here now would I see if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity the justice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God¹ if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith or an usurer, or, to be short, any of them, which either do nothing at all; or else that which they do is such, that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth; should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness,

¹ Lat. *dispeream*, may I perish if. A strong form of asseveration.

or by unnecessary business, when in the meantime poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters, and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil, as drawing and bearing beasts be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year; do yet get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier. For they be not put to so continual labour, nor their living is not much worse, yea, to them much pleasanter; taking no thought in the mean season for the time to come. But these silly poor wretches be presently tormented with barren and unfruitful labour. And the remembrance of their poor, indigent, and beggarly old age killeth them up. For their daily wages is so little that it will not suffice for the same day; much less it yieldeth any overplus, that may daily be laid up for the relief of old age.

Is not this an unjust and an unkind public weal, which giveth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmiths, and to such other, which be either idle persons, or else only flatterers, and devisers of vain pleasures; and, of the contrary part, maketh no gentle provision for poor ploughmen, colliers, labourers, carters, ironsmiths, and carpenters, without whom no commonwealth can continue? but when it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowering age, at the last, when they be oppressed with old age and sickness, being needy, poor, and indigent of all things; then, forgetting their so many painful watchings, not remembering their so many and

EVILS OF MONEY-GETTING

so great benefits, recompenseth and acquitteth them most unkindly with miserable death. And yet besides this the rich men not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. So whereas it seemed before unjust to recompense with unkindness their pains that have been beneficial to the public weal, now they have to this their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice, yea, and that by force of a law.¹

Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men, procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth. They invent and devise all means and crafts, first, how to keep safely without fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together ; and next how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed for the commonwealth's sake, that is to say, for the wealth also of the poor people, then they be made laws. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the Utopian commonwealth? Out of the which in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked

¹ Lat. *provulgata lege*: by promulgation of a law.

up by the roots? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravine, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning (which by daily punishments are rather revenged than refrained) do die when money dieth? And also that fear, grief, care, labours, and watchings, do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea, poverty itself, which only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it would also decrease and vanish away.

And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful year, wherein many thousands of people have starved for hunger. I dare be bold to say that in the end of that penury so much corn or grain might have been found in the rich men's barns, if they had been searched, as being divided among them, whom famine and pestilence hath killed, no man at all should have felt that plague and penury. So easily might men get their living, if that same worthy princess, Lady Money,¹ did not alone stop up the way between us and our living; which a-God's name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way thereto should be opened. I am sure the rich men perceive this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary thing than to abound with overmuch superfluity; to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, than to be besieged with great riches. And I doubt not that either the respect of every man's private commodity,² or else the authority of our Saviour Christ (which for His great wisdom could not but know what were best,

¹ Lat. *beata illa pecunia*.

² The sense of every man's (private) interest (Burnet).

MORE'S OPINION

and for His inestimable goodness could not but counsel to that which He knew to be best) would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weal publique, if it were not that one only beast, the prince¹ and mother of all mischief, pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her own commodities, but by the misery and incommodities of other. She would not by her good will be made a goddess, if there were no wretches left, whom she might be lady over to mock and scorn ; over whose miseries her felicity might shine, whose poverty she might vex, torment, and increase by gorgeously setting forth her riches. This hell-hound creepeth into men's hearts, and plucketh them back from entering the right path of life ; and is so deeply rooted in men's breasts, that she cannot be plucked out.

This form and fashion of a weal publique, which I would gladly wish unto all nations, I am glad yet that it hath chanced to the Utopians ; which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their commonwealth, as shall continue and last, not only wealthily, but also, as far as man's wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For seeing the chief causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked up by the roots and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardy of domestical dissension ; which alone hath cast under foot and brought to nought the well fortified and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concord remaineth, and wholesome laws be executed at home, the envy of all foreign princes be not able to shake or

¹ Princess (ed. 2).

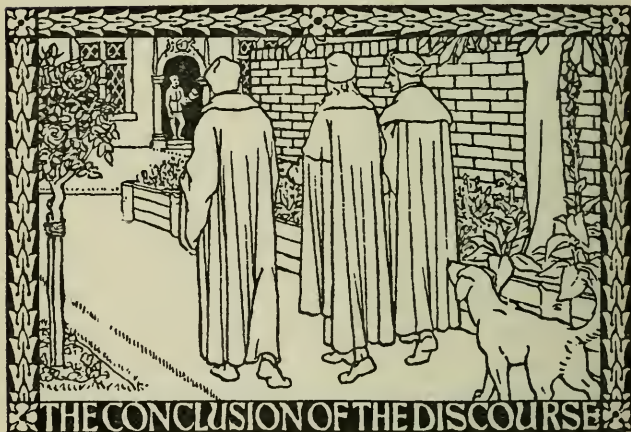
move the empire, though they have many times long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back.

Thus when Raphael had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind which in the manners and laws of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not only in the fashion of their chivalry and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their laws, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the community of their life and living, without any occupying of money; by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honour, and majesty, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a commonwealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed; yet, because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that anything should be said against his mind; specially because I remembered that he had reprehended this fault in other, which he feared lest they should seem not to be wise enough, unless they could find some fault in other men's inventions; therefore I praising both their institutions and his communication, took him by the hand, and led him in to supper; saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talk with him more at large therein. Which would to God it might once come to pass. In the meantime, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said; being else without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldly matters exactly and profoundly experienced; so must I needs confess and grant, that many things

END OF THE CONVERSATION

be in the Utopian weal publique, which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope for.

Thus endeth the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythloday concerning the laws and institutions of the island of Utopia.



GLOSSARY

TO MORE'S UTOPIA

In the compilation of this Glossary much use has been made of Skeat and Mayhew's 'Tudor and Stuart Glossary' (1914), in addition to the standard dictionaries.

Able (verb) : enable
Acquit : pay the debt
A(d)vance : put oneself forward ;
 boast ; look big
Adventure : risk ; at all adventures ; at random ; anyhow
Aiglettes : pendants, tags
Alliance : relatives (or relation) by marriage
Allow : approve
Appair : impair
Apply : carry on, ply (occupation)
Apt : liable
Assay : try
Avale : degrade

Bear out : support, corroborate
Behalf, in this : in reference to this
Behated : hated (cp. beloved, besmirched)
Borderers : neighbours
Brabbling : quarrelling
Brunt : effort, strain
By and by : at once

Care : anxiety ; to cark and care, be anxious ; careful : (1) causing anxiety, (2) anxious
Cast : condemned
Cautel : caution
Cavillation : sophistry, quibble
Chaffer : bargain, haggle
Children : persons
Circumstance (lit. surroundings) : circumlocution
Civil : refined, polite ; suited to political affairs ; becoming a citizen
Clerk : scholar

Commodious : beneficial ; comfortable ; commodity ; advantage
Communication : conversation
Comparison, out of : incomparable
Cost, to do : spend
Courage : heart
Covine : fraud
Crack : boast
Cure : attend to
Curious : elaborately wrought
Customably : continually

Dainty and delicate : pleasant
Danger : power, jurisdiction
Denounce : declare
Derive : turn aside, divert
Device : opinion, counsel
Diligence : desire to please, kindness
Diserdes : blockheads
Dishonesty : disgrace
Dispatch of : deliver from
Dispense : let off
Disprove : disapprove
Distances : (musical) intervals
Doings : writings, works
Dorrs : drones
Drevel : drudge

Embraid : upbraid
Endanger : bring under one's control
Endeavour : exert
Ensure : assure
Entered : admitted into a society
Entertain : treat, behave towards
Entreat (intreat) : treat of, discuss

GLOSSARY

Enviously : in a spirit of emulation (Fr. à l'envi)

Esteem : form an estimate or opinion of

Evil-willing : ill-disposed (to do anything)

Exhibit : offer, furnish

Fare : behave

Far forth as, as : in so far as

Fashion, out of : uncouth

Fear (verb) : frighten

Feat : act, achievement ; use ; feat and use ; nature and method of using

Fond : silly, foolish

Foresee : make provision

Fray (verb) : frighten

Gallant : gorgeous, showy

Gallimawfrey : medley, hotch-potch

Garnishing (noun) : improving, improvement

Gear : stuff ; goods

Gentle : kindly

Give : suggest

Goldsmith : banker

Goodness : advantage

Grammercy (lit. great thanks) : for a mere thank you, for nothing

Grief : pain (bodily as well as mental)

Gross : plain

Handsome : suitable, convenient

Hapt : covered, wrapped up

Harmless : unharmed

Haylse (verb) : greet, salute

Homely : carelessly

Honestly : decently

Husband : husbandman

Improve : disapprove

Incontinent : straightforward

Indifferent : impartial, neutral

Infamed : branded with infamy

Institute (verb) : train

Intreat : see Entreat

Inured : practised in, habituated to

Javel : a low fellow

Jet (verb) : swagger

Just : equal

Knowledge : acknowledge

Laundes : lawns, glades

Let : hindrance ; (verb) hinder

Lewd : ignorant ; wicked, base

Lightly : easily, readily

Loves : systems

Manner, with the : in the act

Mean : moderate

Mere : pure, sheer

Move : incite ; attempt

Namely : especially

Naught : naughty, vicious

Neck, to lay to one's : charge with

Next : shortest, quickest

Niggish : niggardly

Nother : neither (as other for either)

Occupy : trade ; carry on (handicraft)

Only : alone

Open and utter : reveal

Order : arrangement, provision

Other : see Nother

Outlands : foreign countries

Overseen : mistaken

Overthwart : cross-wise ; across

Part : side, party

Pass for : care for, heed

Patience, of (used as adj.) : appeasing, moderating

Patient (verb) : to make calm

Pensiveness : anxiety

Perform : supply (a deficiency)

Persecute : pursue (an enemy)

Pick a thank (verb) : flatter, curry favour

Platform : ground plan

Plot : ground plan

Policy : device (military) stratagem

Poll (verb) : plunder (often pill and poll)

GLOSSARY

Presently : in person ; immediately

Pretend : put forward

Prevent : forestall

Proceeding : progress

Proof : test ; result

Proper : belonging to

Propriety : property ; private ownership

Pullen : chickens ; poultry

Put beside : deprive

Ravine : robbery

Rehearse : enumerate, discuss

Retainer : dependant (not menial)

Rushbuckler : swashbuckler

Sacrifice : form of worship

Sad : serious

School (adj.) : scholastic, of the schoolmen

Seen in : skilled in

Set by : thought anything of

Several : separated (by)

Shave : fleece

Sheath, painted : showy exterior

Shrewdly : severely, sharply

Silly : weak, poor, defenceless

Single : mere, simple

Sit : sitten, form of sat

Skill (verb) : matter

Sodden : boiled

Solemn : usual

Some : one

Somewhere : in some places

Sort : number ; of all sort(s) ; by everybody

Spill : ruin, spoil

State : person of rank

Stay (noun) : permanent state or condition ; hindrance ; stay at ; be held up by

Still ; always

Store ; live stock

Strait ; strict

Stroke ; influence

Surmount ; spread itself above or over

Thereaway : in those parts

Throng (adv.) : close together

Title : inscription

Towardness : inclination

Torves (obsolete, pl. of turf) : sods

Town : farm (stead)

Train : trick

Translate : transfer

Trip, take in a : detect in a blunder

Tuition : care, guardianship

Under : inferior to, not as useful as

Ure : use, practice

Ured : see Inured

Uplandish : rustic

Unwieldy : clumsy

Upright : even, undisturbed

Warrantise : guarantee

Weal publique : commonwealth

Wealth : advantage ; welfare

Well a worth : alas !

Which : who

Wickers : withies

Witty : intelligent, clever

Wry (verb) : turn aside, twist

BACON'S
NEW ATLANTIS



NOTE BY THE EDITOR

A full century divides Bacon's New Atlantis from More's Utopia, and the distance between them may be most significantly marked by saying that we have advanced from the age of Raphael to that of Rembrandt. The religion in which More had been brought up, every aspect of which finds such perfect expression in Raphael, had passed away. In England its place was officially taken by a workaday faith that was gradually preparing the way for the richly varied spiritual life of the next generation. On Bacon's shoulders the official faith sat lightly. There was nothing of More's deep personal religion about him. It may well be that the very simplicity of More's outlook was no longer possible. Certainly this small book, though avowedly suggested by the Utopia, is only a fragment compared with it. Neither in range nor in depth does it in any way approach it. The dramatic intensity in which so much is fused in the Utopia is completely absent; the elements that can there be no more than distinguished have provided topics of their own, and Bacon deals with most of them in special works and by specially appropriate methods. His political views find a place in his historical studies, his philosophical theories are elaborated in the well-known classics of the subject that bear his name, while his random reflections on life and manners are to be found in an almost equally celebrated volume of essays. There is

nothing left of the Utopia except its imaginative setting and it is on that that Bacon fastens. The New Atlantis is a pure fantasy, a sheer exercise of the imagination, and the author revels in its mass of sensuous detail. But the age of More had completely passed. Men no longer turned to Raphael's Madonna in the Sistine Chapel for the supreme expression of their vision of life. A new element had come into their lives, revolutionising their outlook. For the new age it was Rembrandt who provided the most consummate expression of a vision of life and its triumph over death in his Anatomy School at the Hague. This new element was the outcome of experimental science which was then attracting to itself the most vigorous intellects of the time. Of that movement Bacon was the great European populariser. This is accordingly a romance of experimental science, the tale of the "merchants of light" as conceived by the greatest of them.

H. G.

TO THE READER

This fable my lord devised, to the end that he might exhibit therein a model or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of Nature and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Salomon's House, or the College of the Six Days Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded, as to finish that part. Certainly, the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things; notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but, foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the Natural History¹ diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.

This work of the New Atlantis, as much as concerneth the English edition, his lordship designed for this place, in regard that it hath so near affinity (in one part of it) with the preceding Natural History.

W. RAWLEY.²

¹ Sylva Sylvarum.

² William Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, biographer and editor of his works.

NEW ATLANTIS

WE sailed from Peru, where we had continued by the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea,¹ taking with us victuals for twelve months; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months space and more. But then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east; which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north: by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that finding ourselves, in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victual, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who showeth His wonders in the deep;² beseeching Him of his mercy, that as in the beginning He discovered the face of the deep and brought forth dry land, so He would now discover land to us, that we might not perish. And it came to pass, that the next day about evening we saw within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were thick clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing

¹ Name formerly given to the Pacific Ocean, later limited to its southern part.

² *Psalm*, cvii, 24.

ARRIVAL AT BENSALEM

how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents, that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land, all that night: and in the dawning of next day, we might plainly discern that it was a land, flat to our sight and full of bosage, which made it show the more dark. And after an hour and a half's sailing, we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city, not great indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we, thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore and offered to land. But straightways we saw divers of the people, with bastons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land: yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off, by signs that they made. Whereupon being not a little discomfited, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat, with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who came aboard our ship, without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment (somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing tables, but otherwise soft and flexible), and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish these words: "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast

OFFICIAL RECEPTION

within sixteen days, except you have further time given you ; meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards ; and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon amongst ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing and hasty warning us away troubled us much : on the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little. And above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and as it were a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue, "That for our ship, it was well ; for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds, than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case ; so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular, adding, "That we had some little store of merchandise, which if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants, without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer ; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them ; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had dispatched our answer there came towards us a person (as it

AN OATH EXACTED

seemed) of place. He had on him a gown with wide sleeves, of a kind of water chamolet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours; his under apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat; and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water, which we presently did in our ship-boat, sending the principal man amongst us save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach farther, which we did. And thereupon the man, whom I before described, stood up, and with a loud voice, in Spanish, asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "We were," fearing the less, because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lift up his right hand towards heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth (which is the gesture they use, when they thank God), and then said: "If ye will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates; nor have shed blood, lawfully nor unlawfully, within forty days past; you may have licence to come on land." We said, "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being (as it seemed) a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the

AN OATH EXACTED

great person, which was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud: "My lord would have you know, that it is not of pride, or greatness, that he cometh not aboard your ship: but for that, in your answer, you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city that he should keep a distance." We bowed ourselves towards him, and answered: "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honour and singular humanity towards us that which was already done: but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious." So he returned; and a while after came the notary to us aboard our ship; holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of colour between orange-tawny and scarlet, which cast a most excellent odour. He used it (as it seemeth) for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus, and His merits," and after told us, that the next day, by six of the clock in the morning, we should be sent to, and brought to the Strangers' House (so he called it), where we should be accommodated of things, both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he smiling, said, "He must not be twice paid for one labour:" meaning (as I take it) that he had salary sufficient of the State for his service. For (as I after learned) they call an officer that taketh rewards twice paid.

The next morning early, there came to us the same officer that came to us at first with his cane, and told us: "He came to conduct us to the Strangers' House: and that he had prevented the

THE STRANGERS' HOUSE

hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business. For (said he) if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you: and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number, which ye will bring on land." We thanked him, and said, "That his care which he took of desolate strangers God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land, he went before us, and turned to us, and said, "He was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets; and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row; but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been, not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their gesture when they bid any welcome. The Strangers' House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above stairs, and then asked us, "What number of persons we were? and how many sick?" We answered, "We were in all (sick and whole) one and fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us to have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen; they having cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our

BEDROOMS AND INFIRMARY

company, and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty (many more than we needed), were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber: for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little (as they do when they give any charge or command),¹ said to us, "Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth, that after this day and to-morrow (which we give you for removing your people from your ship), you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said: "What? Twice paid!" And so he left us. Soon after our dinner was served in; which was right good viands, both for bread and

¹ According to the L.V., any instructions given them by their superiors.

DINNER AND MEDICINE

meat,¹ better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good ; wine of the grape ; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear ; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country ; a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick ; which they said were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep ; which they said would hasten their recovery. The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled, said unto them : “ My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale’s belly, when we were as buried in the deep ; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life, for we are beyond both the old world and the new ; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity. Let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or un-

¹ L.V. has drink (*potus*).

worthiness before them. Yet there is more. For they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days; who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions? And if they find them bad, to banish us straightways; if good, to give us further time. For these men that they have given us for attendance may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore, for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves, as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people." Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white with a small red cross on the top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in, he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner; as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us; whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said: "I am by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by

GOVERNOR OF THE HOUSE

vocation I am a Christian priest; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers, and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The State hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks; and let it not trouble you, if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand, that the Strangers' House is at this time rich, and much aforehand; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years: for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part; and therefore take ye no care; the State will defray you all the time you stay. Neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandise ye have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return, either in merchandise or in gold and silver: for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not; for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan (that is with them a mile and a half) from the walls of the city, without special leave." We answered, after we had looked a while upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, that we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us, that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we, that were a while since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations.

VISIT TO THE VOYAGERS

For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground. We added, that our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths,¹ ere we should forget, either his reverend person, or this whole nation, in our prayers. We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden; laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward; which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies. So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes, and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves, that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and prevent us with comforts, which we thought not of, much less expected.

The next day, about ten of the clock, the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly, that he was come to visit us; and called for a chair, and sat him down; and we, being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad), sat down with him; and when we were set, he began thus: "We of this island of Bensalem² (for so they call it in their language) have this;³ that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habit-

¹ *Psalm*, lxxxvii, 6 (and elsewhere).

² 'Son of Peace.'

³ This advantage, or distinguishing characteristic.

CONVERSION OF THE ISLAND

able world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions, it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions, than I ask you." We answered, that we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do; and that we conceived, by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all (we said), since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven (for that we were both parts Christians), we desired to know (in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith? It appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question; he said, "Ye knit my heart to you, by asking this question in the first place; for it sheweth that you first seek the kingdom of heaven; and I shall gladly, and briefly, satisfy your demand.

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour it came to pass that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island), within night¹ (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile into the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp,² but in form of a column, or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and res-

¹ During the night, before it was daylight.

² Not pyramidal in form.

THE MIRACULOUS PILLAR

plendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre,¹ beholding this light, as an heavenly sign.² It so fell out, that there was in one of the boats one of our wise men, of the Society of Salomon's House, which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom; who having a while attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner.

“Lord God of heaven and earth; thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace to those of our order, to know thy works of creation, and the secrets of them; and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine miracles, works of Nature, works of art and impostures, and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger,³ and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books, that thou never workest miracles but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of Nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon

¹ In a semicircle.

² L.V. has *scenam* (scene, sight).

³ *Exodus*, viii, 19.

THE CHEST AND THE BOOK

great cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy; which thou dost in some part secretly promise, by sending it unto us.'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in movable and unbound, whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar; but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light broke up, and cast itself abroad as it were into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark, or chest of cedar, dry and not wet at all with water, though it swam; and in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the churches with you receive); and the Apocalypse itself, and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words:

"I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that

THE CHEST AND THE BOOK

people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and goodwill from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apostles in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time in this land Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain¹ of the old world was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew." And here he paused, and a messenger came, and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day, the same governor came again to us, immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, "That the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable." We answered, that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak; and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life. He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said, "Well, the questions are on your part." One of our number said, after a little pause, that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But

¹ Remnant, survivors (Noah and his family).

ISLAND UNKNOWN IN EUROPE

encouraged by his rare humanity towards us (that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants), we would take the hardiness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it. We said, we well observed those his words, which he formerly spake, that this happy island, where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world, which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business; and yet we in Europe (notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age) never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse¹ of this island. This we found wonderful strange; for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them; and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree, on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs, that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world, that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this. For the situation of it (as his lordship said) in the secret conclave of such a vast sea might cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing

¹ The slightest rumour or hint.

ITS SUPERNATURAL KNOWLEDGE

we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and as in a light to them. At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile and said, that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked; for that it imported as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries. It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge that we knew that he spake it but merrily, that we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers. To this he said, "You remember it aright; and therefore in that I shall say to you I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal, but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you, within these sixscore years; I know it well, and yet I say, greater then than now; whether it was that the example of the ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal

ANCIENT NAVIGATION

deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was; but such is the truth. The Phoenicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets; so had the Carthaginians, their colony, which is yet farther west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt, and of Palestine, was likewise great. China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then fifteen hundred strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none; but we have large knowledge thereof.

“At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And (as it cometh to pass) they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither; of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas; as to Paguin¹ (which is the same with Cambaline¹) and Quinzy,² upon the Oriental Seas, as far as to the borders of the East Tartary.

“At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man³ with you, that the descend-

¹ Peking. Cambaline (more correctly Cambalu) is a corruption of Khambalik, the Tatar name. Peking was never a sea-port.

² Modern Hangchow (Kinsai, Kingtse, Quinsay in Marco Polo).

³ Plato, *Timaeus*, 25 a, *Critias*, 113 c.

GREAT ATLANTIS DESTROYED

ants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city and hill ; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which as so many chains environed the same site and temple ; and the several degrees of ascent whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a Scala Caeli,¹ be all poetical and fabulous ; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well that of Peru, then called Coya,² as that of Mexico,³ then named Tyrambel,² were mighty and proud kingdoms, in arms, shipping, and riches ; so mighty, as at one time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions ; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea ; and they of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island ; and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Egyptian priest, whom he citeth. For assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing ; but certain it is there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had⁴ better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so as he cut off their land forces from their ships, and en-

¹ A ladder to heaven (cp. Jacob's ladder).

² Both names are invented by Bacon.

³ Both Peru and Mexico were included in Atlantis.

⁴ Had . . . had, would have had.

GREAT ATLANTIS DESTROYED

toiled both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land ; and compelled them to render themselves without striking a stroke ; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of one hundred years the Great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed ; not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge, or inundation ; those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true that the same inundation was not deep, not past forty foot, in most places, from the ground, so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people ; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains

ITS GRADUAL RECOVERY

peopled the country again slowly, by little and little, and being simple and a savage people (not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth), they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used, in respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds, and this also¹ they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the infinite flights of birds that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, by this main accident of time,² we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and specially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us,³ you see how it hath long since ceased; except it

¹ The custom of wearing the feathers of birds as ornaments.

² The most momentous disaster that ever happened.

³ That sailed to us (*L. V. navigantibus ad nos*).

KING SOLAMONA

were by some rare accident, as this¹ of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. For I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but² our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself; and it will draw nearer to give you satisfaction to your principal question.

“There reigned in this island, about 1,900 years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Solamona; and we esteem him as the law-giver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good; and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner, being 5,000 miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this state; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better, thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only (as far as human

¹ This [landing, L.V. *appulsus*].

HIS TREATMENT OF STRANGERS

foresight might reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established. Therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching entrance of strangers, which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent, doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without licence is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use. But there it is a poor thing; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed; whereof you have tasted." At which speech (as reason was) we all rose up, and bowed ourselves. He went on: "That king also, still desiring to join humanity and policy together; and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills; and against policy that they should return and discover their knowledge of this estate, he took this course; he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many at all times might depart as many as would; but as many as would stay should have very good conditions and means to live from the State. Wherein he saw so far, that now, in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not. But you must think, whatsoever they

ORDER OF SALOMON'S HOUSE

have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For the Chineses sail where they will, or can; which showeth that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt: and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by-and-by find it pertinent. Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order, or society, which we call Salomon's House; the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomona' House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the king of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no strangers to us; for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost; namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall;¹ and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that

¹ 1 *Kings*, iv. 33: And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the *hyssop* that springeth out of the wall. The identification of hyssop has long been a subject of controversy. Bacon translates it by moss in another passage (*Natural History*, 536).

ITS VOYAGES AND TRADING

our king,¹ finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews, which lived many years before him, honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Salomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days Works; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days: and therefore he, instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them and men the more fruit in their use of them, did give it also that second name. But now to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance: that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships, appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Salomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. These ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals and good quantity of

¹ Generally supposed to refer to James I.

ITS VOYAGES AND TRADING

treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things and rewarding of such persons as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land; and how they that must be put on shore for any time, colour themselves under the names of other nations; and to what places these voyages have been designed; and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter;¹ but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."¹ And when he had said this, he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he, perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off,² and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes, and in the end concluded that we might do well to think with ourselves, what time of stay we would demand of the State, and bade us not to scant ourselves; for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet, but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once³ amongst our people, that the State used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we

¹ "In whatever parts of the world it is to be found" (Spedding). This rendering is confirmed by the L.V.

² Set us free (L.V. *explicuit*) from an awkward situation.

³ As soon as it became known.

A FEAST OF THE FAMILY

had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor, to crave conditions; but with much ado we refrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for free men, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived most joyfully, going abroad and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder; and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers, as it were, into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries; and continually we met with many things right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world, worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a Feast of the Family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it; it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the State. The father of the family, whom they call the Tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated, and all the persons of the family, of both sexes, are summoned to attend him. These two days the Tirsan sitteth in consultation, concerning the good estate of the family. There, if

ITS TIRSAN OR FATHER

there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased. There, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief and competent means to live. There, if any be subject to vice, or take ill courses, they are reprov'd and censured. So likewise direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor assisteth to the end to put in execution, by his public authority, the decrees and orders of the Tirsan, if they should be disobeyed, though that seldom needeth; such reverence and obedience they give to the order of Nature. The Tirsan doth also then ever¹ choose one man from amongst his sons, to live in house with him; who is called ever after the Son of the Vine. The reason will hereafter appear. On the feast day, the father or Tirsan cometh forth after divine service into a large room where the feast is celebrated; which room hath an half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it. Over the chair is a state, made round or oval, and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver asp, but more shining; for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colours, broiding or binding in the ivy; and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top, with a fine net of silk and silver. But the substance of it is true ivy; whereof, after it is taken down, the

¹ According to the L.V. "ever" should be taken with "live" (qui perpetuo vivat).

THE ROYAL CHARTER

friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The Tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him ; and if there be a mother, from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a privy door and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue ; where she sitteth, but is not seen. When the Tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair ; and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years, without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a Taratan (which is as much as an herald), and on either side of him two young lads : whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk. The herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water green satin ; but the herald's mantle is streamed with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald with three curtsies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the king's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honour, granted to the father of the family ; and it is ever styled and directed, " To such an one, our well-beloved friend and creditor," which is a title proper only to this case. For they say the king is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects ; the seal set to

ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL

the king's charter is the king's image, embossed or moulded in gold; and though such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and while it is read, the father or Tirsan standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth. Then the herald mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand: and with that there is an acclamation by all that are present, in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold; both the stalk, and the grapes. But¹ the grapes are daintily enamelled; and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the Tirsan, who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen to be in house with him; who beareth it before his father, as an ensign of honour, when he goeth in public ever after;² and is thereupon called the Son of the Vine. After this ceremony ended the father or Tirsan retireth; and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state, as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what

¹ Implies not so much opposition, as transition to a new topic: now, the grapes . . .

² Whenever afterwards he . . . , unless "ever after" be taken with "beareth it," as the L.V. suggests.

ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL

degree or dignity soever, except he hap to be of Salomon's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male ; who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below the half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden, who are served with great and comely order ; and towards the end of dinner (which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half) there is an hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composeth it (for they have excellent poesy), but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham, whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful ; concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only¹ blessed. Dinner being done, the Tirsan retireth again ; and having withdrawn himself alone into a place, where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time, to give the blessing, with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth by one and by one, by name as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called (the table being before removed) kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: " Son of Bensalem (or daughter of Bensalem), thy father saith it ; the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word ; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove

¹ In whose birth alone.

JOABIN THE JEW

be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them ; and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and saith, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing: "Sons, it is well you are born, give God the praise, and persevere to the end." And withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban, or hat ; this done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations, after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into straight acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin. He was a Jew and circumcised ; for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion. Which they may the better do, because they are of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancour against the people amongst whom they live ; these, contrariwise, give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a Virgin ; and that He was more than a man ; and he would tell how God made Him ruler of the seraphims, which guard His throne ; and they call Him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah,¹ and many other high names, which, though they be inferior

¹ *John*, i, 21-25.

to His divine majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous, by tradition among the Jews there, to have it believed that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham, by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem which they now use; and that when the Messias should come, and sit in His throne at Hierusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at His feet, whereas other kings should keep a great distance. But yet, setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation. Amongst other discourses one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that, methought, I had never heard of a solemnity wherein Nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife? For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives. To this he said: "You have reason for to commend that excellent institution of the Feast of the Family; and indeed we have experience, that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast, do flourish and prosper ever after in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall under-

HIS PRAISE OF BENSALEM

stand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution of foulness. It is the virgin of the world; I remember I have read in one of your European books¹ of an holy hermit amongst you, that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Aethiop; but if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherubim. For there is nothing amongst mortal men more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people. Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtesans, nor anything of that kind. Nay, they wonder with detestation at you in Europe, which permit such things. They say ye have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence; and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage. But when men have at hand a remedy more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expelled. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years is past. And when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain; wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire (almost indifferent) of issue; and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife, that was first instituted? Neither is it possible that those that have cast away so basely so much of their strength should greatly esteem children (being

¹ La Motte Fouqué's *Sintram* (Ellis).

ITS HIGH MORAL STANDARD

of the same matter)¹ as chaste men do. So likewise, during marriage, is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity? no, but they remain still as a very affront to marriage. The haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courtesans, are no more punished in married men than in bachelors. And the depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements (where sin is turned into art), maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax. They hear you defend these things, as done to avoid greater evils; as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like. But they² say this is a preposterous wisdom; and they call it Lot's offer, who, to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters; nay, they say further, that there is little gained in this; for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether it will quench, but if you give it any vent it will rage; as for masculine love, they have no touch of it³; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there, and, to speak generally (as I said before), I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is that whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself; and they say that the reverence of a man's self is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices." And when he had said this the good Jew paused a little; whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak

¹ Who are, as it were, part of themselves.

² The inhabitants of Bensalem.

³ They do not even mention it (L.V. Ne fando quidem novunt).

EXCELLENT MARRIAGE LAWS

on than to speak myself, yet thinking it decent that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this; that I would say to him, as the widow of Sarepta said to Elias: "that he was come to bring to memory our sins;"¹ and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe. At which speech he bowed his head, and went on this manner: "They have also many wise and excellent laws, touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry, or contract, until a month be past from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance. I have read in a book of one of your men of a feigned commonwealth,² where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked. This they dislike, for they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge; but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools), where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew; whereupon he turned to

¹ 1 *Kings*, xvii, 18: Thou art come unto me to bring my sin to remembrance.

² More's *Utopia* (bk. ii, 7).

VISIT OF A FATHER OF THE HOUSE

me, and said, "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste." The next morning he came to me again, joyful as it seemed, and said, "There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Salomon's House will be here this day seven-night; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state; but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and told him I was most glad of the news. The day being come, he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth with wide sleeves, and a cape; his under garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same; and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck. He had gloves that were curious, and set with stones; and shoes of peach-coloured velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish montera; and his locks curled below it decently; they were of colour brown. His beard was cut round and of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter. He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered; and two footmen on each side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt and adorned with crystal; save that the fore-end had panels of sapphires, set in borders of gold, and the hinder-end the like of emeralds of the Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant, upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before, a small cherub of gold, with wings dis-

HIS CHARIOT AND RETINUE

played. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold tissued upon blue.¹ He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk ; and shoes of blue velvet ; and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours, set round like hat-bands. Next before the chariot went two men, bare-headed, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff like a sheep-hook ; neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot ; as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone, upon cushions, of a kind of excellent plush, blue ; and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand, as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept ; so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them, as if they had been placed. When the show was passed, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me for the entertaining of this great person." Three days after the Jew came to me again, and said, "Ye are happy men ; for the father of Salomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and com-

¹ The covering of the chariot (or chair) was a cloth of blue silk, interwoven with gold threads (L.V.).

RECEPTION OF THE STRANGERS

manded me to tell you, that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon." We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hanged and carpeted under foot, without any degrees to the state; he was set upon a low throne richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head, of blue satin embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honour, on either hand one, finely attired in white. His under garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle with a cape, of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down, and kissed the hem of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:

"God bless thee, my son; I will give thee the greatest jewel I have. For I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our

THE CAVES

works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

“The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.¹

“The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths; the deepest are sunk 600 fathoms; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of an hill, and the depth of a cave from the flat, is the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven’s beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region. And we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

“We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We also have great variety of

¹ To the greatest extent possible (L.V. ad omne possibile).

TOWERS AND LAKES

composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

“We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill with the tower is in the highest of them three miles at least.¹ And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors—as winds, rain, snow, hail; and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

“We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth or in the air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein is required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds to set also on going divers motions.

“We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as tinted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel,

¹ That is, it is three miles higher than the plain.

WELLS, BATHS AND ORCHARDS

brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals; and again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water, which we call water of Paradise, being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

“We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors—as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air—as frogs, flies, and divers others.

“We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases and preservation of health.

“We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases and the restoring of man’s body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

“We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we made divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their

INTERBREEDING OF ANIMALS

fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order, as that they become of medicinal use.

“ We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

“ We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds ; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects : as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth ; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or smaller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth ; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction, whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture what kind of those creatures will arise.

BREAD, MEAT AND DRINKS

“We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

“We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use; such as are with you your silkworms and bees.

“I will not hold you long with recounting of our brewhouses, bakehouses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots, and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs, and roots, and spices; yea, with several fleshs, and white meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; inso-much as some of them, put upon the back of your hand, will with a little stay pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters, which we ripen in that fashion, as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drink, and many will use no other. Breads we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh and fish dried; with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites, some do nourish so as

divers do live of them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten, and made tender, and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also and bread and drinks, which, taken by men, enable them to fast long after; and some other, that, used, make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

“We have dispensatories or shops of medicines; wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants and living creatures more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations, and separations, and especially by gentle heats and percolations through divers strainers, yea, and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

“We have also divers mechanical arts, which you have not; and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others, and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know that, of the things before recited, many of them are grown into use throughout the kingdom; but yet, if they did flow

HANDICRAFTS

from our invention, we have of them also¹ for patterns and principals.

“We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats; fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But above all we have heats in imitation of the sun’s and heavenly bodies’ heats, that pass divers inequalities and as it were orbs, progresses, and returns,² whereby we produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures and of their bloods and bodies, and of hays and herbs laid up moist, of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments also which generate heat only by motion. And further, places for strong insulations; and again, places under the earth, which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

“We have also perspective-houses, where we make demonstrations of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and out of things uncoloured and transparent we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbows, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We represent also all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines. Also all colorations of light: all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find also divers means, yet unknown to you, of producing of light,

¹ Even if not meant for general use, specimens of them are kept for future experiments.

² Cyclical periods.

originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heaven and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near; making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight, far above spectacles and glasses in use; we have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly; as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains, and flaws in gems which cannot otherwise be seen, observations in urine and blood not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplications of visual beams of objects.

“ We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty and to you unknown; crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kinds; and amongst them some of metals vitrified, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals, which you have not. Likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue: and other rare stones, both natural and artificial.

We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmony which you have not, of quarter-sounds and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp; we make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire. We represent and imitate all articulate

SOUND- AND PERFUME-HOUSES

sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps which, set to the ear, do further the hearing greatly ; we have also divers strange and artificial echoes, reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it ; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller and some deeper ; yea, some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have all means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances.

“ We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practices of taste. We multiply smells, which may seem strange : we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man’s taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweetmeats, dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, far in greater variety than you have.

“ We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have ; and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war and engines of all kinds ; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable ; also fire-

ENGINE-HOUSES

works of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air.¹ We have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return,² and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions, and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses, if we would disguise those things and labour to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Salomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for

¹ To a certain extent we can fly in the air.

² Which recur regularly (L. V. in orbem et vices revertentes).

TRAVELLERS TO FOREIGN LANDS

our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call merchants of light.

“We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call depredators.

“We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call mystery-men.

“We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call pioneers or miners.

“We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call compilers. We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or benefactors.

“Then, after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into Nature than the former. These we call lamps.

“We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call inoculators.

“Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observa-

MUSEUM OF INVENTIONS

tions, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call interpreters of Nature.

“We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not: and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret: though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the State, and some not.

“For our ordinances and rites we have two very long and fair galleries: in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies: also the inventor of ships: your monk¹ that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder: the inventor of music: the inventor of letters: the inventor of printing: the inventor of observations of astronomy: the inventor of works in metal: the inventor of glass: the inventor of silk of the worm: the inventor of wine: the inventor of corn and bread: the inventor of sugars; and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own of excellent works; which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the

¹ Roger Bacon; or, possibly Berthold Schwartz.

FORECASTS OF VARIOUS KINDS

inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for His marvellous works. And forms of prayers, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours; and turning them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempest, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this, he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, knelt down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown." And so he left me, having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

THE REST WAS NOT PERFECTED

GLOSSARY

TO THE NEW ATLANTIS

L.V. refers to the Latin Version published by Rawley in 1638, of which Bacon himself may have been the author.

Abroad : apart
Accommodated of : provided with
Advoutries : adulteries
Affected : desired ; *a. with* ;
 moved by
Aforehand : prepared for future
 emergencies
All : sometimes=any
Apt : ready, prepared
Arefaction : drying up
Asp : the adj. from aspen is now
 more common
Avoid : leave, retire from
Axioms : rules, laws

Balm-wood : balsam-wood
Basilisk : a large cannon
Baston (old Fr., mod. *bâton*) :
 staff, cudgel
Bearing : prolific, productive
Beaten : pounded
Because : in order that
Bend themselves : apply them-
 selves
Biting : eating (like an acid)
Bodies : solids
Boscage (old Fr., from late Lat.
 boscum) : wooded country
Breed : breeding
Broid : braid, interweave
Brooking (n.) : enduring
By that time : by the time that,
 when

Cabala (Hebr.) : tradition ; the
 private or esoteric doctrines of
 Judaism
Cast : calculate
Chamolet : early form of camlet.
 Name originally given to a fine

Oriental fabric. The word
 probably has nothing to do
 with camel (made of camel's
 hair), but is from Arabic
 Khamlat, nap
Chargeable : causing expense
Chariot : any vehicle, not neces-
 sarily horse - drawn ; sedan-
 chair
Chylus : now usually chyle
Civil : polite ; plain, simple ;
 refined ; *civilly* : quietly ;
 civility : civilization, culture
Colour themselves : conceal their
 identity
Come about : change (of wind)
Compilers : L.V. has *divisores*,
 distributers
Compost : compound manure
Conceit : idea
Conclave : private room : en-
 closure
Conclusions : experiments
Confiture-house : where preserves
 and sweatmeats were made
Conform to : similar to
Consults : consultations
Contain : hinder, check (L.V.
 coercere)
Creature : anything created by
 God, living or not
Crosier : in L.V. *crucem*, cross.
 This is a mistake, the crosier
 being really the same as the
 pastoral staff, like a shepherd's
 crook. Others take it to be a
 staff headed by a cross instead
 of a crook.
Curious : cautious, cunning ;
 prying, inquisitive ; skilfully
 wrought

GLOSSARY

Decently : neatly, becomingly
Defray (you) : pay your expenses
Degrees : steps, rounds of a ladder
Demonstrate : show, exhibit
Denial : refusal (of permission to land)
Denominate of : named after
Descend : condescend
Designed : bound for, appointed to go
Discern : distinguish
Discomforted : disheartened
Discover : uncover ; make known. L.V. has *mandavit*, ordered : cp. *Gen.*, i., 9 : Let the waters be gathered together
Dispensatories : drug-stores, dispensaries : now only used for a book describing the composition of medicines, pharmacopoeia
Dorture (old Fr. *dortoir*) : sleeping room, dormitory
Ducat : gold coin worth about 9s. 4d.

End to, to the : in order to
Enforce : strengthen the power of
Entertainment : passing (time)
Entoil : ensnare
Estate=state, condition
Every : sometimes=everyone
Expedite : send forth, issue
Exquisite : exact, carefully carried out
Extenuate : draw out to thinness

Fallacies : tricks
Flight : flock of birds on the wing
Flight-shot : the distance a flight could be shot (about 600 yards). A flight (mid. Lat. *flecta*) was a light, well-feathered arrow.
Fossil : any mineral substance dug up
Fretting : eating away, corrosion

Greatness : arrogance (L.V. *fastus*)

Half-pace (or halpace) : high step (old Fr. *hault pas*), dais or raised platform
Hanged : tapestried
Have : know (language)
Hold : attract
Huke : mid. Lat. *huca*, defined by Ducange as "a veil with which women covered the head"; later, a hooded cape used by both men and women

Incorporate : unite into one body
Infinite : in very large numbers
Inscrutable for : i. in regard to
Insinuate : introduce subtly, indirectly
Insolation : exposure to the sun
Instrument : document
Invited : attracted, induced

Kenning : range of sight (esp. at sea, about 20 m.)
Kindly : in accordance with nature

Last : length of time
Leaded : fitted in leaden sash-bars
Left : abandoned, discontinued
Letters : the *sounds* of the symbols
Lift : obs. past tense=lifted
Light : often=learning, knowledge
Live (of, with) : mod. on, upon
Loft : floor, story ; gallery
Look (that) : expect to

Meteor : any atmospheric phenomenon (*μετέωρον*) ; aerolites, shooting stars
Might : could. *Mought*, the old spelling of the past tense, has been altered throughout.
Montera : cap worn by Spanish horsemen or huntsmen. It had a flap which could be pulled down over the ears.

Mortified : kept till tender
Mulct : punish
Mystery-man : one who investigated arts and crafts (properly *mystery*, Lat. *ministerium*)

Occasions : circumstances, requirements
Offer : make ready to
Office, put out of : deprive of its proper function

Panel : square, pane (L.V. *quadra*)

Part(s) : side(s) : of our, on both parts : *both parts* : both of us, both parties

Particular : partial, opposed to general ; local

Pass : experience, undergo

Perspective houses : where optical instruments, such as telescopes, were kept

Pistolet : foreign gold coin, worth from about 5s. 6d. to 6s. 8d. (later about 16s. 6d.)

Place : rank

Plant : settle (intrans.)

Point : mark, sign (of honour)

Policy : prudence, sagacity

Portion : dowry

Precise : rigidly fixed

Presently : immediately

Preside : exercise control

Prevent : anticipate (Prevent us, O Lord)

Principals : first elements

Probably : with an appearance of truth, plausibly

Propriety : property, quality

Provide : prepare

Radiant : surrounded by, sending out rays of light

Rather, the : especially

Read upon : read (probably = look upon and read)

Reason : the right and proper thing to do

Refrain : restrain

Regard : in r., in r. that=con-

sidering that ; in r. of=considering

Render : surrender

Respect : in r. that=seeing that, since ; in r. of=owing to

Restraint : prohibition

Return : turning back or alteration of the front, generally at a right angle : r. of the halfpace, side of the dais

Rings : peals (of bells)

Say, I cannot but : I cannot deny

Schools, Latin of the : good Latin

Seen in : skilled in

Set forth : send out

Simples : medicinal herbs, contrasted with compound medicines

Sindon (Gk. prob. of Oriental origin) : fine cambric linen ; wrapper made of the same.

Slide : transition from one musical note to another without cessation of sound

Some : about (some mile)

Standing, good : a place to stand and see well from

State : (chair of), state with a canopy ; the canopy itself

Stirp : stock, family (Lat. *stirps*)

Straight : intimate (properly, strait)

Streamed : ornamented with gold rays (L.V. *radii aurei*)

Substances : solids

Substantive : independent, self-supporting

Subtily : cunning workmanship

Such as : to such an extent that, or simply=as

Symbolize : agree (L.V. *consentive*)

Swelling : bombastic

Tables : writing tables

Take : (taste of), put to the proof ; (knowledge) show ; (order) make arrangements ; (light) obtain information ; adopt (a custom)

GLOSSARY

Tedder : tether, limits

Temper : character

Temperature : due proportion
(of heat and cold)

Tender : reluctant

Think : intend

Tincted upon : impregnated with

Tipstaff : staff with a metal cap,
carried by certain officials;
the officials themselves

Touch : hint

Touchstone (or basanite) : a
variety of quartz or jasper;
also of black marble or basalt,
used for testing gold and silver

Traverse : curtain or movable
screen; compartment shut
off by such curtain or screen

Trunks : pipes

Unquenched : unslaked

Very : mere, simple

Virtue : efficacy, strength

Visual : proceeding from the
eye or sight

Vitrificated : mod. vitrified

Wild fires : Greek fire (L.V.
ignes Graecas)

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